

ellowship

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FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



Albert Luthuli

THE VISION OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Alfred Hassler
James M. Lawson
James E. Bristol
Genevieve Walther

THE I.F.O.R TAKES A NEW LOOK
THE MAN WHO ESCAPED THE CROSS
BHAVE AND THE FUTURE OF BHUDAN
25,000 MILES FOR PEACE

War: Labor and the Cold War; International Good Will Begins At Home

Fellowship

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COVER PHOTO: Albert Luthuli, ten years ago, leaves for South Africa after an American lecture tour sponsored by the Congregational Church. Wide World Photo.

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DISARMAMENT

Are armaments a direct cause of war, or are they only symptoms, reflecting the tensions that already exist between nations? It is an old debate, now coming in for new attention in light of the Khrushchev proposal that the nations set a goal of total disarmament in four years. "The problem that lies behind the word 'disarmament,'" writes Salvador de Madariaga, "has little to do with armaments . . . Nations are armed because every one of them keeps for itself the right to decide what is to be done and to enforce its decisions to the limit of its power."¹ Armaments, in other words, are only symptomatic of the real illness: "the almost total absence of world institutions capable by their moral strength of holding individual nations in check"; "disarmament" is a measure that serves only to distract and disguise.

There is much truth in Madariaga's arguments—even more, perhaps, than he himself acknowledges. Armaments reflect not only the absence of world institutions of moral strength, but also the coercive power that maintains a pattern of vast inequalities. The whole system of Soviet satellites depends on Soviet military power working in the background; similarly the West's monopoly of Middle Eastern oil rests on the armed might of the United States and its allies. It is hard to believe that the remaining vestiges of colonialism would not quickly be wiped out if total disarmament came into being, or that a world no longer ruled by military power would continue to accept minority domination of economic resources. Total disarmament would be much more than the demobilization of armies, navies and air forces: it would signify sweeping social and economic reforms

on a world scale. Since such reforms are necessary before any lasting peace can develop, this is one good argument for disarmament.

But the argument is stronger than that. Because the reverse of the coin is also true: so long as nations have armaments with which to maintain their power positions, they will evade the need for basic reform. While they do, the momentum of the arms race drives them in the direction of war. For armaments, in addition to being symptoms, are also causes. It is the arms race that induces a democratic United States to bolster and sustain a dictatorial government in Spain, strengthen feudal regimes in the Middle East and locate provocative missile bases all over the world. It is the preoccupation with military strength, and the wealth that it absorbs, that keeps this country from more than token gestures toward eradicating the misery that plagues most of the world's people. And it is the arms race, with its constantly heightened nervous tension, and the increasing responsibility for catastrophe it places in the hands of a few men, that threatens to blow up the earth and destroy forever the chance of building a society that cherishes all its citizens equally.

So there is a case to be made for both sides, but from either the truth seems clear that armaments, both as symptom and cause, must be laid aside if man is to hope for peace.

DANGEROUS

We went to a committee meeting the other night whose location had to be changed, at the last minute, from Christopher Street to 35th Street (both in New York City) because the United States Government does not permit one of the committee's members to travel as far south as Christopher.

¹New York Times Magazine, Oct. 11, 1959.

This dangerous member is the Rev. Michael Scott, an Anglican clergyman who used to be a missionary in South West Africa. He is no longer a missionary, because after he dared to appeal to the United Nations on behalf of some of the tribes of that country, he was barred from ever coming back by the government of South Africa, which controls South West Africa as a "trust territory."

Michael Scott hasn't got very far with the UN, but he keeps coming back to plead the cause of black men who may not even come to plead for themselves. The UN people listen to him, respectfully and somewhat embarrassedly, but nothing much happens because it isn't really to the interest of the West to put the heat on South Africa just now. Still, Michael Scott comes back patiently, year after year, to make his case.

The UN buildings, as everyone knows, are at 42nd Street and First Avenue, in New York. To get to them, Michael Scott, like anyone else from abroad, has to enter the United States, and to do that he needs a visa. Our government gives this dangerous man a visa, but with reluctance, and with the provision that he must not go below 28th Street, nor above 97th, or west of Central Park.

A country can't be too careful with these Christians!

BONER

FELLOWSHIP committed a bad boner a couple of issues ago. Through a sequence of minor errors that culminated in careless editing at the finish, we published an article ("The Man Who Dropped the Bomb on Hiroshima") that identified Major Claude Eatherly as the pilot of the Enola Gay, the plane that actually dropped history's first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Claude Eatherly, whose subsequent emotional turmoil seems to have grown from his feelings of remorse and guilt for the part he did play in that bombing, actually was the pilot of the Straight Flush, the plane that led the Enola Gay to Hiroshima and "fingered" the doomed city.

The intrinsic worth of the story would not have been affected by a correct narration of the facts. The record does not

suggest that Judas took much comfort from the knowledge that he did not actually seize his Master after pointing him out to the soldiers. The analogy is faulty there was, of course, no conscious betrayal in Eatherly's deed: he did evil that good might come of it. But his responsibility was not less because he did not actually drop the bomb, and Claude Eatherly's conscience appears to have made that clear to him.

Actually, of course, any such mission is an operation carried out by many men. It is, as we are fond of saying these days, a "team action." One of the newspaper stories provoked by our article explained that 42 men actually had taken part in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, and that someone went to the considerable trouble of determining that not one of the other forty-one confessed to having suffered more than "some misgivings" afterward. Eatherly suggested the newspapers and various private correspondents, probably had something wrong with him to begin with, something in his childhood, perhaps, that possibly had nothing at all to do with the 100,000 Hiroshima corpses.

All of this makes us suspect that FELLOWSHIP didn't simply flub the story, but that it missed the story entirely. For surely the significant story for our time is not that a single poor mortal suffered a nervous breakdown as a result of having taken part in two of history's most monstrous atrocities, but that forty-one others did not. Surely there is more illumination in our age in the almost automatic reaction that "there must have been something wrong with him" than in the collapse of self!

Maybe there *was* something wrong with Claude Eatherly. Maybe he suffered a traumatic experience in childhood that planted the seeds of later neurotic behavior. Maybe his present emotional difficulties mean that he hated his father and lusted after his mother, and that somehow these consuming passions found release in the self-torment of guilt that followed the dropping of the bomb. But then what?

What about a society that feels that this *must* be the explanation, that finds it incredible that a human being should suffer such agonizing guilt over the wiping

of a city and its inhabitants? What about the others, who by history's accident were the instruments that launched the bomb, and who apparently never wake up the night with terrifying visions of the holocaust?

Men respond in different ways to feelings of remorse. Some flagellate themselves, unable to conceive of forgiveness because they are unable to forgive themselves. Others find a healthier expression of their penitence in attempts to right the wrong they have done, or at least in a resolve never to repeat the hated deed. Eatherly's response may not have been a healthy one, but it has at least included the determination never to be involved in such a thing again.

But what of the rest of us, who in various degrees of acquiescence or silence watch the manufacture of weapons that dwarf the Hiroshima bomb? What of us?

CHAIN REACTION

There is a review of a good book, "The Southern Temper," on page 31, of this issue. We thought you'd be interested in an account of how the book happened to be written.

In the spring of 1957 the *Saturday Evening Post* (circ. 4,000,000-plus) published a series of articles on integration revealingly titled "The Deep South Says Never," by John Bartlow Martin. In the fall of 1957 FELLOWSHIP (circ. 10,000 soaking wet) published as a "reply" a special issue called "There Is Another South," written by eight prominent Southerners.

The editors of *McCall's* (circ. 4,500,000-plus) saw FELLOWSHIP and assigned writer William Peters to find out if there really was "another South." Result: a *McCall's* feature article, "The South Nobody Knows" (except maybe FELLOWSHIP readers) now expanded into "The Southern Temper." It's a good book, too, well worth a place in your library.

STRATEGY

A couple of pacifists last month debated with non-pacifists in New York City on the question of whether Negroes in America (and especially in the South) should use violence or nonviolence in their struggle

for freedom. The pacifists largely disavowed an attempt to argue nonviolence from a pacifist base: our society is still overwhelmingly wedded to violence, they said; the Negroes are a part of that society and affected by it, and it would therefore be unreasonable to expect them to accept nonviolence "on principle." Hence, they said, they would argue for nonviolence primarily as a superior strategy in the present situation, though they themselves accepted it as a "principle."

They made a persuasive case, but not, we gathered from the audience reaction, persuasive enough. There is much to be said for nonviolent techniques as strategy: the strike, boycott, non-cooperation, and the like. But if it is *only* strategy then there is a good bit to be said for violence, too, and the resisting group should be free, as the pacifists' opponents argued, to choose which fits better the immediate circumstance. Without the insights into the nature of human personality and the redemptive capacity of love, nonviolence must expect to be weighed in the same scales by which violence is judged: its immediate consequences in terms of victory over the opponent at a given time and place.

Nonviolence implies a willingness to suffer, even to die, without retaliating, and while continuing to love the antagonist and forgive him for his cruelty. Such a spirit is not likely to be aroused by an appeal to "strategy." It can arise from a faith that there is in the antagonist, and in the hostile or indifferent onlookers, a spirit of good that is common to both—common, indeed, to all men. It is the conviction that, as Stratis Myrivilis puts it in *The Mermaid Madonna*, "in the soul of every evildoer a saint is imprisoned, weeping and waiting for his release," and that the method of release is love that persists through all persecution.

There is an image of The Negro carried by millions of whites. It is faceless but foreboding. It is compounded illogically of craven subservience and threatening domination. It was created by guilt and greed and fear, and it is the icon before which the white quiets his uneasy conscience so that he may go on doing evil that "good" may come of it.

Nonviolence strikes at that image, tears away the mask that hides the real person from view. By refusing to strike back, even under the greatest provocation, it exposes the falsity of the fear. By refusing to surrender, it denies the myth of the craven. With the mask removed the persecutor may see, perhaps for the first time, the humanness of his victim, and his conscience may break out of its cage and redeem him.

And even though it may not happen to the immediate persecutor at the immediate moment, it happens to the onlookers. When the Negroes of Montgomery walked that city's streets for a year, and when isolated groups of frightened children dared the jeering, spitting, cursing mobs to walk quietly up the steps into the schools, the immediate local effects of their actions were of only secondary importance. What was more important was that for millions of white onlookers, north and south, it was a moment of agonizing recognition that they were seeing human beings behaving with a nobility that distinguished the whole race of men, and that those human beings were Negroes.

That recognition did not end the struggle. School doors did not open throughout the South, or the White Citizens' Councils disband. Few things are that easy. But it did begin a mobilization of the human conscience, and for such a struggle there is no more potent force. It is such a mobilization, much more than strategy, that non-violence seeks.

ORBIT

We have the uneasy feeling that Americans get discouraged sometimes, what with the Russians shooting at and around the moon and all, so we like to sound an occasional cheerful note. This month's contribution is the news that a large department store is now advertising an "exercise-cycle" that runs by electricity. It's like one of those stationary bicycles that you get on and pedal if you want to lose weight or tone up your muscles, only on this one the pedals are pushed by an electric motor. Exercise without undue exertion, the ad says.

Bet the Russians haven't anything like that!

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Albert Luthuli is president general of the African National Congress. On May 27 he was placed under a 5-year ban by the South African government; he is forbidden during that period to attend any meetings or gatherings, or to leave his home district in Lower Tugela, Natal Province. A Christian and an FOR member, Chief Luthuli was a leader in the nonviolent campaign against apartheid in 1952-53. Despite the current ban, 1,000 Africans met in Durban on September 6 to hear a speech by Chief Luthuli read in his absence. "The Vision of Democracy in South Africa" is adapted from a speech given before the ban, at a public meeting organized by the South African Congress of Democrats to enable white South Africans to hear this eminent black leader speak.

James M. Lawson is FOR Southern Regional Secretary and a part-time theology student at Vanderbilt University. While serving a prison term as a conscientious objector in 1952, he was re-elected to the vice-presidency of the National Conference of Methodist Youth and was later paroled to do missionary work in Nagpur, India. He is a Methodist minister and has traveled extensively in Africa.

James E. Bristol is an FOR member who recently returned to the United States after serving for eighteen months as director of the Quaker International Center in Delhi, India, where he kept in close contact with the Bhudan movement.

Genevieve Walther is a former high school social science teacher. During World War II she worked for the Pacifist Research Bureau, preparing studies on conscientious objectors. Out of her work with the Hopi and Papago Indians, she wrote "There Is That In Every Man" (FELLOWSHIP, March 1955).

Alfred Hassler returned to the U.S. in September after spending two months in Europe, where he attended the meetings of the IFOR Council in August.

The Vision of Democracy in

SOUTH AFRICA



BY ALBERT LUTHULI

Someone has said a man really has only one speech to make. He may clothe it in different words, but in essence it is the same speech. Those of us who are in the freedom struggle in this country have only one gospel. We may possibly shade it in different ways, but it is a gospel of democracy and freedom.

If we are true to South Africa, that must be our vision: a vision of South Africa as a fully democratic country. It cannot in honesty be claimed that she is yet really democratic, when only about a third of the people enjoy democratic rights, and the rest—notwithstanding the fact that they constitute the majority—are still subjected to apartheid rule. I emphasize words *are still*, because I do believe fully that it is not a state that can be betwined. Apartheid rule is the anti-thesis of democracy. Apartheid—in theory and in practice—is an effort to make Africa march back to tribalism.

Sometimes very nice and pretty phrases are used to justify this diversion from the democratic road. The one that comes to my mind is the suggestion that we Africans will “develop along our own lines.” I do not know of any people who really have developed “along their own lines.” My fellow white South Africans, enjoying the life called ‘Western civilization,’ should be the first to agree that this civilization is indebted to previous civilizations, from the East, from Greece, Rome and so on. In its heritage, Western civilization is

really indebted to very many sources, both ancient and modern.

There is really no possibility of anyone developing “along his own lines,” as is often suggested. But in practice “developing along your own lines” turns out not to be development along your own lines at all, but development along the lines designed by the government through the Native Affairs Department. Even in determining the laws that govern us and our development, there is no attempt to consult those who are affected. There is no contact between the governor and the governed at the present moment. “Developing along our own lines” has come to mean “Development along *their* lines—the government’s lines.”

The essence of development along your own lines is that you must have the right to develop, and the right to determine how to develop. Its essence is freedom and—beyond freedom—self-determination. This is the vision we hold for our future and our development.

One might ask, “Is this vision of a democratic society in South Africa a realizable vision? Or is it merely a mirage?” I say it is a realizable vision. For it is in the nature of man to yearn and struggle for freedom. The germ of freedom is in every individual, in anyone who is a human being. In fact, the history of mankind is the history of man struggling and striving for freedom. Indeed, the very apex of human achievement is *freedom* and *not* slavery.

Every human being struggles to reach that apex.

It is sometimes suggested that people are "incited" to struggle for freedom. One wonders what that means. I admit that circumstances from time to time make it necessary to remind people of what lies at the apex. Naturally if I find a man in the mud, it is my duty to lift him up and remind him, "You are not of the mud." If there be human beings who, for some reason or other, have forgotten their rights and wallow in the mud, it is the duty of all who see, to say to them, "Don't wallow in mud. Try to reach up to the apex." And the apex of human achievement and striving, as I have said, is freedom.

Let Us Share Responsibility

It is often said that the non-European people merely strive for the good fruits of South African citizenship and not for its obligations. But that is not the aspiration of black South Africa. We would like to share in the privileges and rights that go with democracy. But at the same time we are ready to carry all the obligations which flow from being part of a democratic country. I hasten to say that we do not approve of the state of affairs which obtains now, when on the basis of apartheid, it is said, "Where social services are directed to you or for you, *you* alone should bear the expense." That we do not agree to. We feel that we should enjoy the rights which are enjoyed by all South Africans, and equally bear the obligations. But that is far different from saying to the poorest section of the community, "If you wish to enjoy any social services in South Africa, pay for them yourselves." That policy at present being carried out in so far as non-Europeans—particularly Africans—are concerned, is a policy of denying us the privileges of freedom, while saddling us with more than our share of responsibility.

The yearning for freedom is not peculiar to South Africa. The whole of Africa is emerging into freedom. We live in the midst of what has rightly been described as "emergent Africa." Why should it be thought that Africans in this part of Southern Africa are different from Africans in Ghana? Africans in Ghana have received full democracy. In Nigeria they are about

to receive full democracy. How can it be suggested that the Africans in the Union of South Africa will not yearn, like their brothers in the North, for freedom? The very fact that Africa is emerging to freedom should be a sign to all of us that the vision of democracy is coming and will be realized.

The African is not the only one who has struggled for full participation in a South African democracy. Our people have been much impressed by the struggle of the Afrikaner in this country. He too struggled—in fact, in affairs less justified than ours—for he did enjoy a certain amount of freedom while we enjoy none. But he felt he did not enjoy it fully. It should be necessary to remind Afrikaner South Africans that nothing could stop their struggle until they got a full share in democracy for themselves. Should they not realize that this same truth applies now to the struggling Africans, who cannot be denied the privileges of democracy forever?

I believe that our vision of democracy in South Africa will be realized, because there is a growing number of people who are coming to accept the fact that in South Africa we are a multi-racial community whether we like it or not. I am not prepared to concern myself with such questions as "Where have you come from?" "Do you come from the North?" or "Do you come from Europe?" It is not important. What is important for our situation is that we are all here. *That* we can change! We are all here, and no one desires to change it or should desire to change it. And since we *are* all here, we must find a way whereby we can realize democracy so that we can live in peace and harmony in this land of ours. More and more people are coming to accept that and to work it.

Sometimes it would seem that the more apartheid is intensified, the more freedom lovers come together to oppose it. It is an encouraging feature, demonstrated by the fact that there exists today not only the Congress of Democrats but also the Liberal Party, the Labor Party, the Black Sash, many Church leaders who have seen and followed their duty to their fellow men.

Man must participate in all the aspects of life, political, social and religious.

is not whole if he is deprived of participating in some aspects of life; he will have to be a lopsided man. It is not our duty to produce among Africans lopsided men of South Africa. It is my firm belief that more and more South Africans, regardless of color, will come to see the justice of our cause, because it is not just a human cause, but a divine cause and, I would like to see a divine cause to try and build a climate in South Africa where human values are respected.

We often hear the argument that if we extend democratic freedom to the whites we shall be surrendering our heritage. But I would like to suggest that you can preserve your heritage by isolating yourself or by isolating other people; you can

preserve human values by propagating them and creating a climate where these values will flourish. Apartheid does not destroy that kind of climate; for the values which we cherish can only develop to the fullest in a climate of peace and equality, where brotherhood is respected. In such a climate as that, these values will grow. We do not deliberately propagate these values; we wish to maintain them. That is the only way of saving white civilization! Propagate it! Don't hoard it! For if you hoard it, it is going to shrivel with you. But if you propagate it, more people will develop these values, preserve them, and prevent them from dying out. We are interested in the preservation of those values, for they are human values. Man, throughout the ages, has striven for these values. Why should it be different for those blacks in South Africa? Is it any less?

World Opinion

Encouragement for those whose vision of a democratic South Africa lies in the fact that today there is self-questioning within the apartheid camp. When people begin to question their own policies, there is hope. A sinner who does not realize that he is a sinner is not very far from redemption; the hope for man is greater when he begins to question. Now I say

their questions may not amount to much, but certainly it is a hopeful sign that they now begin to question and wonder at the efficacy of apartheid. There is hope there, just as there is hope to be drawn from world opinion being in favor of democracy. However badly our country fails to live up to democracy, world opinion is in favor of democracy. The whole world stands up and says, "We stand for this cause." I don't think that we ourselves really believe that

South Africa can remain isolated from the world. Otherwise we will find ourselves a colony of slaves, isolated and cut off from the rest of the world—slaves of our own making.

To me democracy is such a lovely thing that one can hardly hope to

keep it away from other people. Could anyone really successfully shield off beauty? We don't live in Parktown, but we appreciate the beauties of Parktown. I am not a Johannesburg man, but I pause to see the fine gardens, the beautiful houses and the surroundings. I stop and admire beauty. Can you everlastingly cut off a human being from beauty? And as you move about in some of these palatial places, and the scent of the flowers comes to you, can you really stop another from smelling that scent? Can you ward others off? Can you really successfully do it? I suggest that democracy, being the fine thing it is, the apex of human achievement, cannot be successfully kept from the attainment of other men.

Yes, there are difficulties on the road. But the biggest block is apartheid, making it difficult for us to realize the glorious vision of a multi-racial democratic South Africa. But despite the blocks let us strive to develop this democracy.

A New Pattern of Democracy

It is often suggested, quite rightly, that democracy was developed in homogeneous communities—in Europe, possibly in Asia to an extent—in communities that were homogeneous in color. Here in South Africa we are not a homogeneous community,



This striking poster, symbolizing South Africa's attempt to divide the cross of Christ into racial halves, was erected on the grounds of St. George's Cathedral in Capetown last spring, creating an uproar among proponents of apartheid.

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE PHOTO.

not as far as race and color are concerned, nor possibly even in culture. It is suggested that people in homogeneous communities can very well speak of democracy being shared; but in a community like ours, diverse in very many respects, you can't hope to share democracy. But I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all our diversities of color and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy. I think there is a challenge to us in South Africa to set a new example for the world. Let us not side-step that task. What is important is that we can build a homogeneous South Africa on the basis not of color but of human values. After all, we all admire our color. I often say my black color is proof of sunshine and is due to heat. I admire my black color—I should. But in trying to build a new homogeneous democratic South Africa, color and race should not come into the scene. It should not come into the scene in any part of the world; for men should be bound together by certain values which they cherish.

I may have more in common with some Europeans than with the less fortunate of my African brothers who are still in the Reserves, who have not had the privileges of civilization which I have had. To me that is a pointer to the fact that we can build a new type of homogeneous society—new in South Africa and in any part of the world. The main thing is that man is my brother not by blood, but because we cherish the same values, stand for the same standards. I believe personally that, notwithstanding the fact that our cultures are diverse, we come to live together and in the process of our coming together, I will come to admire certain aspects of European culture and reject other aspects. But I think also that Europeans will find that there will be aspects of our culture which are good. And so can develop a true South African culture, built up of the best of all our cultures.

Our Guarantees

White people often ask us "What guarantee have we that you will not swamp us by your numbers?" I think that in a sense I have already replied to that by saying that some of us are not interested in numbers. I think that very stress on numbers

is harmful. The criterion should rather be "Do we wish for democracy?" To this question Africans have already given an answer. What more proof do you want that Africans long for democracy, when in fact they are already making sacrifices for it? They are willing to preach and struggle for democracy to the extent that sometimes they become the guests of Her Majesty. But they would like to take you farther back. When they first came into contact with Europeans, our forebearers saw there some values which they liked.

Even in the wars between the English and my people I don't remember that missionaries, or even traders—excepting those who were found to be traitors—were molested. So I suggest that our people have given sufficient proof that they yearn for democracy; the question of numbers doesn't count, particularly if we set the goal on the right road! What the apartheid rulers have said does not lead people to the right road! If the Africans don't stop to be getting to democracy it is not their fault; go and blame apartheid! If whites should feel you are in danger, it is because we seek to endanger them, because we are not given the opportunity of developing fully along the democratic road.

How can you truly expect that democracy at its best can flourish in slums? How can you expect that democracy shall flourish in insecurity, when people do not have the wherewithal to live? Where Africans work in towns, it is admitted that their wages are low. In Reserves from where they come, the holdings are so small that people can hardly make a civilized living. Now Prof. Tomlinson assures me that, having worked fairly hard in the reserves, they can expect to get £66 per year from their holding. And he says "Now if you value your holdings scientifically I promise you £120, or £150. He promises me that seriousness can anybody raise a family on this basis, at the civilized standards should aspire to?—Can white people raise a family on that basis?

Bantustan—a Negation of Democracy

Can you really develop a democracy for people upon the lines of the so-called "Bantu Authorities"—where we will

icipate in the ordinary machinery of government, but will revert to a perverted form of tribalism? For "Bantu Authority" is the exact antithesis of democracy; it is a rule by some kind of council appointed even without consultation with the people, by the sole decision of the chief and the Native Affairs Department—a Council in which the people have no say at all and which they can never change even if they wish to. Such a system may not lead to democracy; it does not even respect Bantu custom. For while we may not have been democratic in the European sense, yet in past times, our tribal authority was not autocratic. I dispute the theory that African chiefs were autocratic. In all communities, you occasionally get a dictator, like the late Chaka who was undoubtedly a dictator but not a tyrant even of the Zulu chiefs. I don't think that you would suggest that Napoleon was a sample of the best in Europe. Apparently he and Chaka were contemporaries; it seems that it was an age when dictators were produced. But in Bantu practice, the king or chief with his Council and debated an issue: all of the leading men in the tribe had a say in decisions. And therefore all talk of earlier African chiefs being dictators—as is said by the Department of Native Affairs to make present chiefs into dictators—is contrary to our traditions. But in line with the Bantu Authorities Act, our chiefs are being made minor dictators—I needn't mention who is the senile dictator—contrary to their traditions and contrary to democracy. Our development is thus being sidetracked into new autocratic institutions that are now being imposed not only on the African but also on white people. As long as my people are

forced to follow this road of Bantu Authorities, they will not learn democracy.

Go Forward in Faith

How can you breed a democratic people along such lines? This is a challenge to all of us. If you are interested in South Africa as a whole you should do your best to work for the realization of this possible vision. It is possible, this vision of a multi-racial democracy in South Africa. The difficulties may be great, but nothing has beaten man if he has striven. Man is striving to go to the moon. If he can do this, can anyone suggest that man cannot evolve a system in South Africa that will make our society a democratic, multi-racial group? There is a challenge which you and I must meet. We cannot dodge it.



We often say that what we are doing, we do for posterity.

It is a very dangerous claim to make because posterity may think quite differently from us; we may find posterity spitting on our grave. Let us not claim the authority of posterity for our failures to strike out on the road of democracy. I think it was Jan Hofmeyer who said, "Having planted, go in faith." Don't worry about other things. Go in faith and believe in the sanity of posterity. There is in the Bible a verse which says that all those who are cowards—all those who grow apathetic because of the difficulties before them and run away from the struggle—that they shall not be able to reach that Glorious Place. It also says that the cowards will be together with all evildoers.

I cannot believe that all of us who are here will fail South Africa because we are cowards and apathetic. I believe we all will do our best—whatever the difficulties are—for the realization of this glorious democratic South Africa we dream of.



The Provocative "Deterrent"

"With the two great armed powers perpetually mobilized with decisive striking power, there is danger that a combination of miscalculation and panic might start the ultimate war. Or a limited war might, without anyone's intending it, become an all-out war under these conditions."

—John C. Bennett in **Christianity and Crisis**

The Man Who ESCAPED

THE CROSS

BY JAMES M. LAWSON JR.



HIS ESCAPE WAS quite accidental, even as the experience of the cross was swiftly, without warning, thrust upon him; so the escape occurred again not by his own choosing but because he accepted the cross which God chose not to complete.

Charles Billups is a tall, slender, brown-skinned man. He spent 7½ years in the navy in both World War II and the Korean War as a gunner's mate. He carries the scars of his many battles: a steel plate in his head; plastic surgery to repair the damage done to his face; long, criss-cross scars along his abdomen and pelvic areas. At one time both his legs were broken in combat.

But he has also been a quiet, unassuming warrior for equal rights. He is one of the charter members of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which is led by Fred Shuttlesworth. He was in both parties of people who tested bus segregation there, thus courting arrest. When the police commissioner of Birmingham first began to send plainclothesmen to the mass meetings, it was Billups, a Baptist minister, who refused entrance to them and was the next day arrested for interfering with officers. He has been and is one of the most committed and active warriors of nonviolence in Birmingham. Perhaps this is to be expected, since he has known the futility of violence.

On April 10, 1959, Billups, along with

two working companions, was returning home in Birmingham from his work at Hayes Aircraft Company.

At one A.M. the KKK stopped the pickup truck. Their strategy worked perfectly. As the truck picked its way through narrow streets of a white housing project, a car ahead barricaded their passage. Hooded men came from all directions, accosted the three workers and dragged them from the seat. They came, knowing what they wanted. For finding that they had Billups, they immediately indicated that the other two Negroes were rather unimportant. But all three were blindfolded and shoved into separate vehicles. As the captives were prodded towards the automobiles one of the hoods remarked, "looks as though we got a good catch tonight."

Blindfolded and roughly held on to the back seat floor of a car, being taken to an unknown rendezvous, Billups recalled a period of fearful wrestling with God. He did not want to be hurt or killed. Though his young family flooded him with the desire to protect them from pain and death, the three children grow to maturity. The floorboards became a Gethsemane as Billups prayed and surrendered himself wholly to the will of God. He felt afresh the compact of faith in God's knowledge about what was best. He was more than

ed that God had the power to deliver
, if that was God's will. He was also
e convinced that if his death was im-
ent, God knew best how to bring good
poses out of even that—"God won't
e a mistake." He recollected the many
es in the past when under duress and
ering, he knew the love and power of
l. By the time the auto reached its
ination Billups was literally over-
elmed by that love and power. He was
re than ready to live, but he was like-
e more than ready to die. He knew that
matter what, all things would work for
d. With a voluntary, "Thy will be
e," he left everything in the hands of
l.

The Test of Faith

The blindfold was stripped off in a
est area. He then saw that the Klan had
o brought along his two companions.
they were all kept apart, for he was
er all the special guest. Guarded by
ves and guns he was stumbled to a
e, and tied with his face rubbing the
k and his wrists bound about the tree.
rtly the "prosecutor" arrived and with
chmen gathered about their victim. The
secutor did all the talking directly to
ups: "We want information about the
vement and other information. When
lie, we'll beat you."

as one accoster ripped the clothes from
captive, the long period of beating and
errogation began. The first question
cerned the parks the Alabama Chris-
a movement planned to integrate.
I don't know. Guess they'll sue all the
ks of Alabama."

This is a smart nigger. Give him five
s."

He was next asked about nigger Gwen
e treasurer of the Movement), about the
et meetings held in Gwen's home. Each
e, Billups said, "Mr. Gwen," they
ously strapped him, saying, "It's not
Gwen, but nigger Gwen." Accustomed
saying Mr. Gwen, the captive suffered
psychotic rage of his tormentors.

There were many questions and much
ting with what seemed to be a thick
her strap . . . for they thought he lied
ment. The questions were really unim-
tant.

Eventually Billups remarked, "You
ought to be ashamed for beating a minister
of God."

Prosecutor: "Give him ten licks. Go get
something to beat this nigger with."

So they brought a chain. By this time
Billups was completely numb from the
pain—his back and limbs were dead—so he
mercifully hardly felt the chain, but could
feel the warm blood running about his
body.

Prosecutor: "You a minister of what?"

Billups: "A minister of God."

Prosecutor: "Go get something to beat
this nigger with."

Thus to the chain was added the touch
of thorn bushes which left their thorns
embedded in the chain wounds. Different
Klansmen competed to see who could slam
Billups the hardest.

Prosecutor: "A minister of who?"

Billups: "A minister of God."

The chaining with the thorns added con-
tinued.

Up to this time, Billups had constrained
himself from crying out. Now he decided
to cry out . . . the heavy beatings stopped.

Prosecutor: "A minister of who?"

Billups: "A minister of Jesus."

Prosecutor: "Oh, you're a minister of
Jesus." And he moved to another question.
(Billups wondered if they even knew the
relationship between Jesus and God.)

This became the pattern of the torture.
He was interrogated about the Movement,
Fred Shuttlesworth, and Nelson Smith
(vice-president of the Movement). Since
they found an Abraham Lincoln Republi-
can Club membership card in his wallet,
he was asked if this was a communist group.
His negative reply brought further re-
prisals.

On and on it went:

"Why did you go to school?"

"Why did you ride the bus integrated?"

"Why not ride with the colored?"

Again Billups, still conscious, though
numb, decided to begin to groan . . . the
beatings seemed to let up somewhat.

Tiring of their sport, the prosecutors
began to say: "Let's kill nigger Billups.
Let's vote." The vote was 6-3 in favor of
death.

"Nigger do you want to pray?"

"Yes, Lord, forgive these men, bless

them, bless their families, bless. . . ."

"Nigger, stop that praying." And the chain began to swing again.

But now dissension arose. For some conscience protested, "A man has the right to pray in his own way." And the prosecutor intervened to instruct Billups what he should pray.

With the noose about his neck, he was asked by the prosecutor: "What can you tell us to save your life?"

Billups: "What do you mean . . . tell you?"

Prosecutor: "If we let you go, will you get out of town?"

Billups: "Yes."

Prosecutor: "Will you get out of town by two P.M.?"

Billups: "Yes."

The prosecutor walked though the trees to the other two captives. Deciding that they were only the victims of circumstance, he spared them. It was Billups they wanted and it was Billups they punished for the anguish and hatred of their own sin.

During this lull, Billups still bound to the tree, had a shot gun in the small of his back and a Bowie knife at his throat. One of the men kept picking at the open wounds with a sharp point. They kept talking wildly, "Don't move nigger. Don't you run. Believe me, I'll kill you." Billups had to smile at the ignorance and terror revealed. In spite of the beating, the bloody body, he sensed no anger toward these men.

When the prosecutor returned, the men were still talking about killing the nigger since the vote was taken. But the prosecutor untied him. He was pushed to the wet ground, eventually driven out on a highway and dumped.

Only on one occasion did Billups become wholly indignant at man's narrow-mindedness. Shortly after reaching the highway, dirty, bloody, numb, beginning to feel the shock and pain done to his body, he was picked up by a patrol car. After wrangling with them about his need for medical attention, he was driven to a hospital (where later the doctor refused to treat him). As Billups got out of the police car, the driver came around, exclaiming, "Wait a minute, change that story about white men beating

you like that. No white men would beat you like that." Billups flared and replied, "Look here, I know who beat me."

There is one further unusual incident which Birmingham ponders over. The doctors of another hospital not only admitted him, but carefully took out all the dirt and thorns. They also thoroughly X-rayed his body to find a fractured vertebra which required surgical attention. He was released for a day in preparation for the surgery. Again Billups experienced an intense period of relatedness to a loving Father. His response was again to submit to that knowing Will. When the next X-rays were taken, anticipating surgery, the fracture was not to be found. He further bewildered the doctors by requiring no shots for pain. He was supposed to be intense pain.

The Armor of God

Throughout this experience, Billups calls only one stage of fright. Return from the hospital, friends of the Movement set nightly guards about his home. The first night he was unable to sleep. He was filled with terror. He knew that he had taken himself out of the hands of God and placed himself in the hands of men who were not able to keep him. This was a denial of faith in God. So the next night when the guards returned he asked them to go home, that he would trust God to take care of him.

Weeks after recuperating, with the manacles of the chains added to his body, Billups still sensed no hostility towards these men of the Klan. In speaking to members of the movement, he reaffirmed his belief that only through Christian nonviolence could lasting peace be achieved. He told his fellow Negroes that in fighting wrong they profess a belief in God, but keep their forty-fives in their back pockets—so that they actually believed in the forty-five and not in God. Only if the Negro is strong enough to love and forgive, while pressing on for a new society, will the end to segregation and racial hatred arrive. And this was as if to clinch his concern, Charles Billups became a member of the Fellowship for Reconciliation.

A member whose encounter with the Cross illuminates the power of nonviolence.



The IFOR Takes a NEW LOOK AT THE WORLD

BY ALFRED HASSLER

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE Fellowship of Reconciliation from 17 countries attended the Policy Discussions and Council meetings of the International FOR in Austria last August. Of the continents, only South America was unrepresented, with pacifists having come from such far-off places as India, Japan, South Africa and New Zealand, as well as Europe and North America. Emily Parker Simon and I were Council delegates from the American FOR, with Douglas V. Steere and the Rev. and Mrs. John Nevin Sayre also representing the North American IFOR Committee.

Apart from the usual business of the biennial Council meetings, such as the adoption of a budget and election of officers (new President and Chairman of the Council is Dr. Howard Schomer, American pacifist and president of Chicago Theological Seminary), the main business of the Council was the formulation of statements presenting the IFOR position on five significant aspects of modern life. Preliminary work on these statements was done in two days of "policy discussion" meetings, in which Council members were joined by other invited FOR representatives. I have tried below to summarize the background, discussion and decisions in each of these areas.

The East-West Problem

The problem of finding ways of reducing tension and making positive moves toward peace between the Communist bloc

of nations and the power group loosely known as the West is, of course, of major importance to all pacifists. The difficulties even of making effective and workable contacts are enormous. Ordinary person-to-person communication is possible to only a very limited extent, and it frequently entails serious risks for the persons living in Communist-controlled countries. The United Nations frequently is more a cockpit for cold-war maneuvers than a genuine means of achieving reconciliation. There are pacifists and FOR members in Communist countries—notably East Germany—but independent, non-governmental peace groups such as we are accustomed to in the West are not permitted to exist in the East.

In these circumstances some pacifists have urged that international conferences organized and directed by Communist-controlled "peace groups" might offer some opportunities both for personal contacts and for presenting the pacifist testimony. Conferences organized by the World Peace Council, the Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs, and the World Youth Festival Committee have been specific occasions in which some pacifists have felt that their position should be represented in spite of the risk entailed by the varying degrees of Communist control that existed.*

* Both the WPC and the Youth Festival Committee are generally acknowledged to be directly controlled by the Communist political apparatus; the measure of control of the Japan Council meetings apparently has stemmed more from the strength of the Communist delegations present than from the overt wishes of the sponsors.

Officially, both the International FOR and the American FOR have long taken a position of "organizational non-collaboration," while seeking every opportunity for personal contacts and friendship with individuals who happen to be Communists.

Behind this non-collaboration stand have been two considerations. First, the experience of peace and other "reform" groups in the past in attempting to work in "united fronts" with Communist groups has demonstrated the near-impossibility of developing mutual trust between disciplined Communist groups, whose first loyalty is to the Party "line," and the individuals and groups whose commitment is to the stated purpose of the "front." Such traumatic shocks as the overnight switches of united-front "peace groups" to strongly pro-war activities when the Hitler-Stalin pact ended, have left their mark, but there have also been many less dramatic instances of this absence of trust.

Witnessing At Vienna

Second, it is pointed out that such conferences cost the Communist governments a great deal of money—this summer's Vienna Youth Festival is estimated to have cost the USSR close to \$100 million—and that these vast sums are spent because the Communists regard the conferences as advancing their own interests in the continuing state of conflict with the West. As pacifists would not wish to participate in meetings designed to strengthen the military and propaganda efforts of the West, the argument goes, so they should assert the same standard with respect to the East.

In 1953 the IFOR made its position explicit through a statement adopted by the Council in its meeting at Dortmund, Germany. In it the Council asserted that it would be "unwise" for the IFOR or its constituent Fellowships to send delegates or accredited observers to "partisan political peace gatherings organized, financed and essentially controlled by elements committed to advancing the foreign policy and military course of one or the other of the conflicting powers." (It added that, of course, if any FOR members felt "called" to attend such conferences, the IFOR would maintain fellowship with them "in love and prayer.") This position was re-

affirmed by the Executive Committee of the American FOR last June.

Discussion in the Policy and Council meetings made it clear that most of those present felt that some changes needed to be made in this position. Non-Communist youth from the West in substantial numbers had attended the Youth Festival in Vienna a few days before, despite warnings as to its nature. IFOR Secretaries Hildegard and Jean Goss, who had passed out pacifist leaflets printed in Russian during the 1957 Festival in Moscow, had felt very strongly a call to "witness" to the position in Vienna, their home city, in 1959. They had talked, on a wholly unofficial basis, with the Festival committee which set up a "Believers' Day" program at the Festival attended by some 400 youth in which all three speakers were Christian pacifists. Previous to the Festival, Hildegard and Jean had organized at the Vienna IFOR Center a pacifist preparatory conference in which some thirty young people participated. This group continued to meet daily throughout the Festival for prayer and counsel together as to how best to make their Christian pacifist witness.

The Gosses reported their own strong feeling and that of most of the thirty pacifist youth that their ambiguous status on the outskirts of the Festival but without the standing of either delegates or observers, was so difficult that it should not be repeated. Most of the delegates at the Council agreed: the issue was whether provision should be made for participation within some limits, or if there should be a complete reaffirmation of the Dortmund statement.

After considerable discussion, agreement was reached that some modification of the Dortmund statement was desirable. The new statement renewed the assertion that the sending of delegates to such gatherings would be "unwise," but added, nevertheless, that

"... such gatherings may sometimes offer an opportunity for presenting a Christian pacifist witness."

and that therefore the Council, or between Council meetings the European and American committees acting jointly

"should have the power after due consideration of the particular gathering in questi-

to appoint accredited observers either from the Secretariat or from the general membership . . . provided that their status as 'observer' be specifically recognized by the organizers and that the limitations of status be clearly accepted by such observers."

The statement added the Council's concern that the IFOR continue to promote personal contacts between East and West, cultural exchanges and the discussion of controversial subjects, meetings of clergy and lay members of churches from both sides, and support for the specialized agencies of the UN. It hoped also that the IFOR could provide a center for the distribution of factual information in the major languages on the issues that divide the world and on opportunities for reconciliation.

Inter-Church Relations

The Fellowship was born 45 years ago within the context of Protestant Christianity, and has had much the largest part of its growth and strength there. In recent years, however, and in some sections, its message has found increasing response among two different groups: Roman Catholics, and individuals—including many young men—who have left the organized church in protest against what they believe to be its compromises or corruption. There are now substantial groups of Roman Catholic FOR members in France, Belgium, Italy, Germany and Austria, as well as smaller groups in other countries.

Confronted with this situation, the Council adopted a statement that first reaffirmed its basic position that "the essentially Christian basis [of the IFOR] and the purpose of praying and working for peace make common action possible," and then asserted:

- (1) that God has given the IFOR "a unity in His spirit which stretches across all divisions between Christians";
- (2) that the IFOR's "first task" is to remind the churches that "the reconciling power of love is an integral part of the Christian faith," and that therefore its chief approach should be to the existing churches;
- (3) that the IFOR also welcomes into membership "all those who respond

to the call of Jesus Christ to follow Him on the way of reconciling and nonviolent love, although unattached to any church";

- (4) that the IFOR should also seek to strengthen its ties with the Orthodox churches.

The IFOR and Non-Christian Religions

In the almost half a century of its existence, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, while united in its basic commitment, at some points has developed in different ways in different countries. Most marked of these has been the basis of membership, with the two largest national sections—British and American—demonstrating the cleavage most clearly.

The British FOR's "basis" reveals that organization as unmistakably and exclusively Christian. Persons who join the British Fellowship acknowledge their commitment to "Love, as revealed and interpreted in the life and death of Jesus Christ," and their loyalty to "Jesus Christ our Lord and Master," positions that effectively preclude any non-Christians from seeking affiliation.

The American Fellowship, on the other hand, while remaining a religious fellowship with an overwhelmingly Christian membership, sought in its "statement of purpose" to draw in those from other faiths who had been led to the pacifist position and so become both an interfaith, as well as an interdenominational, body. Members of the American FOR believe that "love, such as that seen preeminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances." While most of them have joined "because of their desire to follow unswervingly the way of life exemplified by Jesus," others have "received their inspiration from other religious leaders" or come to their "faith in love and nonviolence in still other ways." The orientation is still strongly Christian, but the interfaith aspect has been sufficiently potent to bring in some scores of Jewish members and a handful of representatives of other non-Christian religions.

The International FOR membership basis (IFOR individual members are recruited only in countries that have no

organized national FOR) falls somewhat between the two, but closer to the British than the American. An official folder of the IFOR describes it as "a Christian organization," but adds that "membership is a personal commitment and not confined exclusively to Christians," and a statement adopted by the Council in 1952 provides that "adherents of non-Christian religions" might join if they are willing to "share in a Fellowship which is established on a Christian basis." Thus, while avoiding the rather orthodox terminology of the British "basis," the IFOR has had in fact virtually an exclusively Christian membership.

But the question is a perennial one, troubling to many who are sensitive to the need to find more ways to bring men together in common belief and action in a day when the whole world has become so interdependent. A strong current of pacifism runs through the Jewish faith. André and Magda Trocmé, with increasing contacts with the Muslim world, had found encouraging prospects of a pacifism rooted in the Koran. Hinduism and Buddhism are producing significant groups of pacifists, and there were reports that similar developments are occurring in still other religious communities.

Council members were acutely conscious of the dilemma, especially as they were reminded by a delegate that only the Japanese delegate, of all their number, was non-white. Nevertheless, the Council concluded that the particular mission of the Fellowship is within the Christian church. A proposal to broaden the basis of membership to encourage the accession of adherents of non-Christian religions had support only from a few delegates.

Still the dilemma exists, and the Council tried to move in the direction of resolving it. To do so it set itself, as policy, the "additional task" of encouraging, discovering, and helping to initiate "parallel religious groups which would stand for non-violent methods of achieving social change, conscientious objection to all war, and the ministry of reconciliation." It envisaged that such movements might be grounded in any one of the non-Christian world religions such as Judaism, Islam, Buddhism or Hinduism, "or might draw their inspiration from various religious traditions."

With such groups, when and if they exist, the Council expressed the hope that the IFOR would be brought into common relationships of "consultation, intimate interchange of experience, and, when feasible, into parallel or common action on special projects."

Secretaries and emissaries of the IFOR were directed to "search actively" for means of implementing this policy, and the Literature Committee urged to find and produce appropriate literature. How much of this the vastly overworked secretaries and "emissaries" actually will be able to do, of course, remains to be seen.

The IFOR and Race Relations

No disagreements in principle developed in this area, though discussion did illuminate the different kinds of problem that racial tension has produced in different countries. The Council agreed on a policy statement whose essence was the wish to see the "spirit of brotherhood established in all men's hearts and in all men's institutions." As a means of achieving this goal, the statement commended to the national sections personal witness, "cooperation in practical fellowship," nonviolent direct action against discriminatory laws and customs, and support of bodies working for the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The council also asked that the subject of race relations be placed on its agenda for its next (1961) meeting, and that in the meantime national Fellowships be asked to "make further and deeper study of the universal and much-varied problem in all its aspects and in the light of the Gospel."

The IFOR and Other Peace Organizations

The IFOR, as an "international, non-governmental, religious organization," said the Council, should consider, when the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 34)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

PACIFIST MOTHER DEALS WITH CEREAL COMPANY

Many nonpacifist as well as pacifist parents have recurrent feelings of uneasiness and frustration at the prevalence of military pictures and symbols in the publicity of various sorts that reaches their children. Most of them take it out in mumbling, but now and then one takes more direct action. Pacifist Mrs. Roy Kepler, of Los Altos, California, is one of the latter. When one after another of the packages of cereal she opened for her family's breakfasts turned out to have on it a shiny picture of a guided missile or nuclear bomb as part of a "Defenders of America" series, she sat down and wrote a letter of disapproval to the cereal's makers, the National Biscuit Company.

In due time she had an answer. The company, wrote a polite gentleman in its Public Relations Department, appreciated Mrs. Kepler's concern. It, too, was against war and violence. However, the missiles and weapons do exist, and the children are interested in them, so perhaps the cards can be used to "teach children that war is a pretty stupid waste" and so be a "genuinely educational item."

Mrs. Kepler replied spiritedly. NBC's response, she observed, was a "textbook example of Orwellian doublespeak: war is peace; pro-war is anti-war." She suggested that as its next series the company run a "Defenders of Prostitutes" series, "complete with glossy action pictures and with an exciting story on the back of each picture." Then, when parents protested, the company could write:

"...we too are against prostitution and prostitutes. However the fact remains that prostitution and sex do exist, and children are interested in them to a great degree. We feel that if they learn more about how inappropriate prostitution is in approaching sex problems, perhaps they will be wiser than past generations... These cards can be used to teach children that prostitution is a pretty stupid waste of talent and

Direct Action

Usually the front page of this edition of Fellowship is devoted to discussion of the latest news on the international scene. Some readers may feel that to give it over this time to the story of Patricia Kepler and the National Biscuit Company is a mistake. But the fact is that the Kepler story is an answer to the discouraged pacifists who mourn the prevalence of violence in all our culture but see no way to affect it. There are ways, and imaginative persons are finding them every day.

Another imaginative but unidentified member was disclosed by TV reports to have found a dramatic foothold when he banded to Nikita Khrushchev, during the Soviet leader's visit to California, a copy of the FOR leaflet, "How to Practice Nonviolence."

materials and human resources. For this reason, we feel this premium is a genuinely educational item..."

At the bottom of the letter she indicated that copies were going to national magazines, parents and educators.

The courteous gentleman at National Biscuit responded somewhat agitatedly that he was sorry to have antagonized a consumer. Then he added:

"You may be interested in one thing: The cards are no longer being used as a cereal premium."

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Trocmés Leave IFOR For Geneva Church

The current lecture tours of Pasteur André Trocmé and his wife Magda may be the last opportunity American pacifists will have to hear the doughty French pacifist leaders for some time. André, a minister of the Reformed Church, has accepted a call to the pulpit of the Church of St. Gervais, second largest Protestant church in Geneva, and will begin his work there in April. Though M. Trocmé laid heavy emphasis on his Christian pacifist position in speaking to the Geneva church, the congregation voted 92 percent in favor of calling him.

The Trocmés came to full-time work in the IFOR fourteen years ago, at the end of World War II, though they had been active pacifists long before that. During the war André divided his time between the pastorate of a small church in Le Chambon-sur-Lignon and the College Cevenol, of which latter institution he is still president. Le Chambon became the center of nonviolent resistance to the Nazis and Vichy French during that period, and many Jews were rescued from the Gestapo and Vichy police through the Trocmés' daring efforts.

During the past decade the Trocmés have become identified with the Maison de Reconciliation, a large old villa at Versailles, France that served as an IFOR center in that country. To Versailles the Trocmés brought students, tourists and churchmen from all over Western Europe and America for

conferences and retreats, and from there they sortied into many sections of Europe and Africa. Some of their notable pioneering work in the past few years has been the establishment of a Christian pacifist testimony in Algeria and Morocco.

No plans have yet been made to carry on the Trocmés' work in France, but it is expected that they themselves will remain active in IFOR affairs. Both will be in this country on the current tour until January. During November André will speak in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin; Magda in California, Colorado, Idaho, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Vancouver and Victoria, B. C.

Ministers Witness at Detrick As Army Whitewashes BW

Thirty-two clergymen, led by Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, manned the FO prayer vigil line in front of Fort Detrick, Maryland, on October 20, adding their presence to the growing weight of moral protest against American preparations for biological and chemical warfare. Their silent testimony, climaxed in the evening by a public meeting addressed by Dr. Crane, came as public relations experts at the Pentagon expected themselves to overcome the scruples of Americans against germ warfare.

The ministers were joined on the vigil line by 41 youth from the Church of the Brethren, making the demonstration one of the largest since the project began. The clergymen and youth found the area strewn with manure when they came to the line, but took their position without comment.

The Fort Detrick vigil began as a five-day affair on July 1, but has continued as participants have come from many sections of the East. It is now scheduled to continue through December.

WANTED: A volunteer who can read Spanish for a few days research on non-violence in the New York Public Library. Call Al Hassler at FOR national headquarters--LO 8-8200.

NEWS from the peace front

Church World Service reports the beginning of a Fall clothing drive in connection with the UN's World Refugee Year. Representatives of U.S. churches overseas estimate that 27,000,000 pounds of clothing are needed in Europe alone.

One major way in which churches are taking part in the drive is through CWS's Cut Garment Project. CWS sells garments, cut and ready for sewing, to local women's groups who then sew the garments and return them to CWS centers. Information is obtainable from the national office of Church World Service, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

* * *
Trials of three Omaha Action participants who pleaded not guilty were expected to be delayed on request from legal counsel, it was reported last month. The three men, Hi Holdridge, Hil Haworth and Larry Shum, do not deny that they entered the missile base at Omaha, Nebraska, in August, but hope to use their court case to challenge the government's right to use public land for purposes of nuclear destruction.

Seven other missile base protesters are in prison. Of these, Bradford Lyttle, coordinator of the Omaha project, Donald Fortenberry, Ed Lazar and Karl Meyer, son of Congressman William H. Meyer (D-Vt.), are slated for release on November 29. Arthur Harvey and Marjorie Swann, who engaged in nonviolent destruction at the gate to the base, are expected to be released on January 10. Simon Hennacy of the *Catholic Worker* is scheduled to come out on January 24.

* * *
Curtiss Moody, former FOR Youth Secretary, now minister to youth at the First Christian Church, Whittier, Calif., recently sent copies of the 1959 Fellowship Christmas cards brochure to all ministers and leading laymen in the diocese of Christ in Southern California. Young people in his church, says Moody, "are really excited about our Christmas sales program. We should have no trouble getting rid of the volume that

we have ordered." As chairman of the Disciples Peace Fellowship of Southern California, Moody has been engaged in many activities to spread the pacifist gospel. This example of resourcefulness is one which pacifists in other denominations will want to emulate.

* * *
A sermon on "Politics for Christians" by FOR member Anthony R. Perrino, a minister of Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich., was awarded the George Washington medal of the Freedom Foundation. Copies are available from the church.

* * *
The Indian FOR has offered a prize of Rs. 50 for the best essay on "The Biblical Basis of Sarvodaya (a society built on the idea of the welfare of all). The contest is open to students of theological colleges in that country.

* * *
The safest place on earth may turn out to be Antarctica. The twelve nations active on that continent, including the Soviet Union and the United States, on October 15 pledged to keep the continent demilitarized and free from war.

* * *
"The Politics of Survival" will be the subject of a weekend workshop sponsored by the College Peace Union November 6-8 at Camp Union, Greenfield, N. H. Resource Leaders will include Congressman William Meyer, FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste, and FOR Regional Secretary Charles Walker. Information, Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

* * *
A mimeographed version of John Howard Yoder's "Peace Without Eschatology?" is offered free (5¢ postage) by the Rev. Lawrence E. Monk, West Salem Methodist Church, 3rd and Gerth Ave., N. W., Salem, Oregon.

* * *
An International FOR Youth Conference is tentatively planned for August 1961, to be held at *Agape*, the Walden-
(Continued on next page)

sian youth community center in northern Italy. The two pastors who lead the center, Sandro Sarti and Tullio Vinay, are both FOR members. About 2,000 young people have visited *Agape* each year since its founding in 1947. The Waldensian Church is the oldest Protestant denomination, having been founded over three centuries before the Reformation of Luther and Calvin. The IFOR Youth Conference will center on a general discussion of war and peace.

* * *

Current attempts to win public approval of chemical and biological warfare were deplored in a resolution adopted at the 1959 Annual Meeting of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science. The resolution stressed the need for greater "moral scruples" on the part of scientists and the general public in the face of a rising tide of War Department propaganda to minimize any sensitivity to or revulsion against such weapons. It offered help in finding new employment to scientists who feel themselves conscientiously opposed to germ warfare jobs.

Victor Paschkis was elected the new president of SSRS, succeeding Edward G. Ramberg. Both are FOR members.

* * *

The new American Friends Service Committee docudrama "Which Way the Wind" has been achieving notable success since it began its cross country run in September. "It was delightful... tremendously moving," "Congratulations to you...it is a powerful play and

very well done," were some of the solicited responses received at AFSC national office. FOR member John Raitt said of it: "*Which Way Wind* speaks to the condition of men. I want to urge every thinking person to see this presentation of alternatives to war."

LIT NOTES

Just off the press are two new prints from nationally circulated magazines. *A Family's Voyage into Danger* by Andre Fontaine (6 pp., 10¢) tells the story of the Reynoldses, who carried out the thwarted mission of the *Golden Rule* by sailing their yacht, the *Phoenix of Hiroshima*, into the forbidden waters of the U. S. nuclear test zone of the Pacific last year. This true story of conscience and courage originally appeared in *Redbook*.

Of particular value in the church study groups that will soon be formed is *Christian Pacifism Reassessed* (3 pp., 5¢), in which noted church historian Roland H. Bainton issues a clear call for a return to the pacifist ethic of Christianity, pointing out that "the ethic of the churches on war and peace ever since Constantine has been Greek rather than Christian." There is so much scholarship in this challenging article from *The Christian Century*.

Both reprints are published by Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Like a Glove

"Look at the whole pattern of Russo-American relations. The psychiatric vocabulary, it seems to me, fits it like a glove. Is it not clear, for example, that for each giant the other has become the 'stereotype' of evil rather like the madman's distorted vision of his real or supposed enemy?... In American eyes Communism is a deadly sin and its adherents foul infidels while the Russians take the same bleak, unforgiving view of individualism and individualists."

--J. B. McGeachy, in THE FINANCIAL POST
Toronto, Nov. 15, 1958

"Communism is all black; there is nothing gray about it. Its ends are evil and its means are evil...If, by chance, the Communists are for something right, it is only as an expedient to advance their own evil ends."

--Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.). June 9, 1959

BHAVE AND THE FUTURE OF BHUDAN

JAMES E. BRISTOL

ANY AMERICAN PACIFISTS seem to me to have a romanticized picture of Vinoba Bhave and the Bhudan (land gift) movement. Certainly, viewed against my observations during the past two years, I find such a romanticized picture when I think of India. The Bhudan-Gramdan movement is not sweeping the country in any way that I had been led to believe it was. It is not solving the land reform problem, and is not producing the sizable economic revolution that I had been led to anticipate.

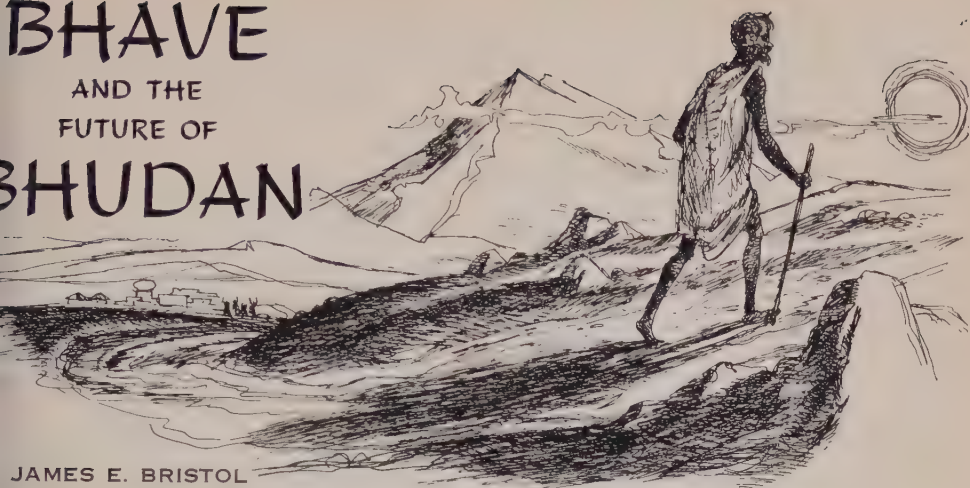
In many ways the movement is apart from the main stream of Indian life and development. The Second and Third Five-Year Plans put a strong emphasis on large-scale industrial development along Western lines, and although lip-service to Bhudan and Gramdan—the donation of all property to a communally owned village—is paid even by the highest Indian Government officials, it is evident that their hearts are not in the development of an industrial society that will be greatly influenced by the West.

Moreover, Vinoba has by no means reached the goals which he set for the donation of land. True, he has received about 10 million acres—certainly a remarkable achievement—but the goal he hoped to reach by the end of 1959 is fifty million acres, and clearly the movement will fall short of that. Of course, the reason for this failure lies partially—but only par-

tially—in the fact that Vinoba has shifted his emphasis, and is now asking far more vigorously for entire villages to become Gramdan than for individuals to donate land. Still another negative fact that must be borne in mind is that a great deal of the land that has been donated is unusable for agricultural purposes.

By way of contradiction it must be said that Vinoba Bhave is deeply revered all over India, and is influential to a degree even in the highest circles. In December Mr. Nehru spent two days with Vinoba, and this meant that the Prime Minister, not the Bhudan leader, traveled approximately six hundred miles in each direction to keep the appointment. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, has conferred at least once each year with Vinoba Bhave, and other of India's leaders similarly turn to him for advice and counsel. In a very real sense these people are in the grip of a schizophrenia which means that their lip-service to the way of Vinoba Bhave is a very sincere lip-service if that in itself is not a contradiction in terms. Yet the impact of their daily considerations moves them away from supporting Gramdan and Bhudan with a major portion of their time and energy and ability which is devoted instead to the large-scale industrial development of their country.

It is true that large groups come to welcome him each day as he enters a village or town, and gather again in the afternoon



for his public address and prayer meeting, but even his most devoted followers will tell you that vast numbers of these people are moved largely by curiosity. Some of them after a short time have satisfied their curiosity and accordingly leave the meeting long before Vinoba has finished speaking; this is very apparent in the completely open coming and going of people in a way which we would consider rude to a speaker. Still others listen throughout, but do not follow his suggestions. Only a few are won to the cause.

Vinoba Bhave is obviously a very different leader from Mahatma Gandhi. He does not possess the organizing genius of Gandhi, and because he does not follow up on details as Gandhi did, many things are done in his name that he probably does not approve of. Someone is needed to provide hard-headed organizational leadership for the movement. Many had thought that Jayaprakash Narayan, erstwhile Praja Socialist Party leader who gave up partisan politics several years ago to join the Bhudan movement, would fill this need, but he is not doing so. Jayaprakash seems hesitant to accept a position of leadership himself. At the nationwide Shanti Sena Rally near Ajmer on March 2 he publicly disavowed any thought of being considered a national Sarvodaya leader, though in practice it is quite impossible for him to escape such a role.

Either individual or group leadership along organizational lines is very badly needed if the movement is not to wander off into the realm of theorization and idealistic discussion unrelated to immediate practical achievements in helping to solve India's pressing social and economic problems. Acharya Kripalani's criticism is impossible to answer. Though he is in agreement with the idealism and many of the principles of the movement, his trenchant comment is that India desperately needs food, and that eight years of Bhudan have done nothing tangible to increase food production. Unfortunately, most of the land donated has never been distributed. It is true that Vinoba has gone on to introduce the idea of Gramdan, which means that all of the land and property of everybody in the village is donated to the vil-

lage as a community and that all private ownership thereby ceases. This means that it is not necessary to distribute Bhudan land to individuals; the donated land can be turned over to the village as a whole. Unfortunately, even this has not been done in too many cases. As with Bhudan, so with Gramdan. The decision of a village to become Gramdan has not been implemented. A village is moved when Vinoba passes that way to become Gramdan, but nothing is done for a long time to translate this decision into action. Perhaps six months later a Gramdan worker enters the village. Often he is asked with the question: "Did we decide to become a Gramdan village? We cannot remember."

Now Vinoba's vision has moved from Gramdan to Shanti Sena (the peace army) with his emphasis upon developing Sarvodaya Patra (the handful of grain)** as the sole means of support for the Shanti Sena (peace soldiers). Certainly each from Vinoba Bhave insight is essential to the building of a new and decent society, but there is a tragic weakness in the fact that the last step is left to such a large degree undeveloped and unimplemented before moving on to the next step. Thus, while Bhudan land remains largely undistributed the Gramdan idea is introduced and people are encouraged to embrace it. Yet before Gramdan has had an opportunity to put itself in practice Vinoba shifts his emphasis to Shanti Sena.

Many Sarvodaya workers are deeply concerned about this situation. When I talked to Jayaprakash Narayan in April he

** Sarvodaya Patra involves the placing of an earthenware jar in each cooperating home. The youngest child in the family places a handful of grain in each mealtime in the jar, and the accumulated grain is collected periodically by Sarvodaya workers. The grain is to be the sole source of their support. Unfortunately, an ever-increasing number of Sarvodaya Patra vessels appear to be accepted into Indian homes but the plan also involves a host of problems. The grain donated is not of uniform kind or quality. The collection of the grain requires considerable effort which cannot then be devoted to constructive Gramdan and Shanti Sena efforts. The question also arises whether the grain should be sold in order to provide for other needs and requirements of the workers. Moreover it is very difficult to sell grain of uniform kind and quality, and the transactions involved increase the amount of the worker's time consumed simply in securing his own support. The feeling is that women should devote themselves to the collection and sale of the grain, thus liberating the workers for more creative tasks. Obviously, practical difficulties remain to be worked out.

the time had come to consolidate the advances already made. Nominal Gramdan villages must become Gramdan in reality. Many perplexing problems that can be worked out only by painstaking efforts in all situations must be faced and resolved in practice. Otherwise much of the movement becomes mere words and preaching. Vinobabhai at the same time said that members in the movement felt that it would be impossible to develop Gramdan villages successfully when they were but islands in a competitive society. Therefore, it was necessary to win many more communities to Gramdan before spending too much time on the implementation of the idea. One more comment might be made about the direction in which Vinoba Bhave was moving at present. Some feel that he is becoming increasingly a preacher and a claimer of the ideal, moving away from the practical application of his beliefs. Cer-

tainly there is some evidence to the contrary, but much also to support this viewpoint. His present insistence upon workers receiving their support solely from gifts of grain donated by the people was one evidence of this. Donald Groom, a British Quaker, who has been intimately associated with Vinoba Bhave for some years, felt that Vinoba was not to lead a movement that would have sweeping practical results in the immediate scene, but that if Vinoba were to live for ten more years he might develop and lead a movement so deeply rooted, so spiritually motivated, and so sacrificially implemented that it would be far more revolutionary than anything we can comprehend or envisage today. Literally it would shake the world because of its total unwillingness to compromise with the world even in the ways in which nonviolent movements generally have compromised thus far in human experience.



THANKSGIVING PRAYER

OF OUR ABUNDANCE, LEAD US TO SHARING

Lead us to see the naked of the world,
 those whose coats are torn and ragged,
 those whose feet become blue with cold on a winter morning,
 those whose nights are sleepless because they are so cold,
 those who could use a share of our overstuffed closets.
 Lead us to remember the hungry each time we sit back with full stomachs.
 Lead us to be aware of the many children whose only meal may be that scavenged from the garbage
 cans of the rich.
 Lead us to the starving of the world.

OF OUR COMPLACENCY, LEAD US INTO AWARENESS

Lead us the aloneness of the oppressed who get no sympathy from those around them.
 Lead us to feel the plight of the outcast and share with them the warmth of our hearth.
 Lead us to the bedsides of the sick.
 Lead us courage to seek the men and women in the prisons—
 not only those prisons with thick walls and barred windows but those of the spirit and mind.
 Lead us the needs of the lonely, the sick, the imprisoned.

OF OUR INGRATITUDE, LEAD US INTO GRATITUDE

Lead us gratitude for the abundance which we may share with others,
 the means with which to send our abundance to the needy.
 Lead us to be grateful each time our path crosses that of the oppressed,
 that our hands may reach out to clasp theirs in Christian love.
 Lead us to feel grateful that our health may be the means which enables us to help the sick.
 Lead us to be grateful that our freedom can be the channel by which the imprisoned may be brought
 to freedom in God.

EN.

[from *The Mennonite*, Nov. 25, 1958]

25,000 MILES

FOR

PEACE

BY GENEVIEVE WALTHER



A GRAY-HAIRED WOMAN in neat blue slacks is walking down the highways of America. On the front of her long-sleeved tunic are the words "Peace Pilgrim," and on the back, "I am walking 25,000 miles for peace." Curious passersby approach her and quickly learn that here is a highly intelligent and charming woman, radiating friendliness. They leave, thinking more deeply about what is involved in the attainment of peace, both within themselves and in the world.

It was six years ago that Peace Pilgrim set out on her unique mission. Since then she has counted over 14,000 miles of walking, through 48 states, 10 Canadian provinces and part of Mexico. She carries no money and does not ask for food or shelter but accepts the hospitality of those who offer her a meal or a place to sleep. Sometimes she has walked all night to keep warm, but she had never missed more than four consecutive meals.

How is it possible for someone of her slight build to endure walking an average of 25 miles a day? Peace Pilgrim says that, having attained a state of inner harmony after years of consecrated effort, she receives a bountiful supply of energy. "Learn how to live," she challenges, "and you can draw on it too."

In her youth, Peace Pilgrim had no religious training. She grew up completely outside the church—and yet religion has had a profound impact on her life. "In

my student days," she says, "I thought the way to live was to make a lot of money—to get ahead of the other fellow. I found that making money was easy for me, and soon I had more of it than I needed. But I found that the things I could buy with it did not bring happiness. Though I did not then understand the Fatherhood of God, I felt a great deal about the Brotherhood of Man, and as I looked about the world, so much of it impoverished, I came increasingly uncomfortable about having so much while my brothers were starving.

"Finally I had to find another way. The turning point came when, in desperation, I walked all night, struggling to find a more meaningful life. At dawn I came to a clearing. I looked up into the heavens and cried out, 'Use me for higher purposes. Show me the way and I'll follow.' I never meant anything more in my life. And almost immediately, a great peace fell upon me.

"I found that once one has thus dedicated one's life, one has passed over the first spiritual hump—the point of no return. One has given oneself completely to a cause, and can never return to self-centered living. With many, this dedication is long and drawn-out, but fortunately for me it came at once. My first blessing soon learned, was perfect health. From that day, twenty years ago, I have never experienced even a cold or a headache.

"In the midst of the continuing struggle between my lower and my higher selves, I caught glimpses of harmony. Many years passed, however, before I found myself slipping into harmony, almost never to leave. To attain it one must pass over the second spiritual hump—the actual giving of one's life, not just one's possessions. When one at last gives one's life—brings into alignment one's beliefs and the way one lives—then, and only then, can one begin to find real inner peace."

It was when she had reached that point that Peace Pilgrim vowed to go on her pilgrimage of walking, to become a wanderer until mankind has learned the way of peace. Often, at the end of a day's walking, she gives a public lecture in which she outlines the way in which our lives can come into harmony with a power higher than ourselves.

Twelve Steps to Peace

There are four preparatory steps. First, we must get beneath the surface of our lives. "Never wish for a life without problems," says Peace Pilgrim, "for only our problems give opportunities for spiritual growth." We must learn to face life squarely in all its depth, not run from it. Our collective problems, too, must be faced in this way. "We must approach them prayerfully and think them through, talk them over and find solutions."

Second, we must resolve to live what we believe. Third, each of us must find his own place in God's plan; this we can know only within ourselves, seeking it in receptive silence. Only as we fulfill both of these points can we accomplish what we feel motivated to do and thus grow to understand meaning as part of the totality of life. And only with the discovery of this meaning can we find happiness.

Fourth, we must simplify our lives. Instead of piling up possessions, we must begin to recognize the unmet needs of others around us. We should also learn to say no to the demands of others to perform tasks they should be doing themselves.

Four purifications are required. First, we must emphasize the positive side in our thinking. Peace Pilgrim asserts that this can be a powerful influence for good, while negative thoughts can even make us physically ill.

Second, we must purify our bodies through correct eating habits, sufficient exercise and rest. Third, we must strive for purity of will, to unify our desires with what God wants of us. Fourth, we must purify our motives, taking as our model the motive of service. We do so many things with mixed motives or with the surface motive of striving to attain inner peace. When we learn to give, not to seek to get, we experience a joy of service that makes it impossible to go back to self-centered living.

Finally there are four relinquishments. First, we must let go of our self-will, which means finding one's true spiritual center—God's will in us—and embracing this rather than our spontaneous selfish impulses. When we feel like saying something mean about someone, for instance, we should find something good to say instead.

Closely related to this is the second point, the relinquishment of separateness. We must see ourselves as individual cells of spirit in the spiritual organism of humanity. If we pit one cell against all other cells, we cause disease, but if we act from our true spiritual center, we work in harmony with the basic oneness of mankind.

Third, we must let go of our hold on human beings. When we try to run the lives of others, try to possess them, cling to them, we find disharmony. Each must be free to find his own spiritual center. We must bear in mind that we do not own anyone, no matter how near and dear; only when we free each of our dear ones in this way can we live in harmony with them.

Fourth, we must let go of our worries. Worry is a sign of lack of faith. The spiritual law is invariable, says Peace Pilgrim: as long as we cling to our problems, God will leave them right in our hands. The only alternative is to leave our worries in God's hands.

Peace Pilgrim looks upon every difficulty as an opportunity for growth. Once she was asked if she ever had trouble with vagrancy laws. "Oh, yes," she smiled. "I've been jailed twice. Once overnight for protective custody. The other time they locked me up for twenty-four hours, though at the time I hadn't the slightest idea how long they would keep me. I'm glad for

these experiences, for they taught me that one can be imprisoned and yet remain free. And I know now that I can face prison.

"I am thankful, too," she went on, "for an experience which taught me that I can face death. That happened on a lonely spot of road, miles from anything. Darkness had come with incredible speed, and with it a snow storm that obliterated everything, even the road. I could not see a light in any direction. Cars had long since quit passing. There was nothing to do but go on, hoping that I could stay on the road."

She dragged herself forward on icy feet, not knowing where she was going. But despite the cold, her inner self was suffused with a feeling of warmth. "I know," she said, "that all was wonderfully well with me, no matter where my journey might end."

Suddenly her foot touched something—the railing of a bridge she could not see. Groping her way underneath, she discovered a large packing box full of heavy, dry paper. "Even in the snow storm there was shelter for me!" she exulted. She curled up in the box and pulled the paper over her, and soon her body became warm like her inner self. She slept until morning, waking to a world of fresh beauty.

Peace Pilgrim's most wonderful experience, as she told one group of listeners, occurred one night as she was crossing the desert. In the heart of an isolated stretch, she passed a parked car. The driver called to her to come in and get warm. "The minute I got in," she said, "I could tell that he was what most people would call a rough-looking man. But that didn't bother me, since I know there is that of good in everyone. Touch that and they cannot harm you, for the good in them will not let them harm you."

After talking a while, the man suggested that she get some sleep before moving on. Peace Pilgrim curled up and went to sleep in the car. "I don't know how long I slept," she said, "but finally I awakened and talked again. It was then that he said to me when he called me in, his intention had not been good. 'But you know,' he said, 'when you curled up so trustingly and went to sleep, I could not touch you.'

"Of course he couldn't," Peace Pilgrim said. "The good in him wouldn't let him."

As she started down the highway again, she looked back and saw the man, standing beside the car, looking up at the stars. "I wondered," she said, "if for the first time in his life he had found God."

"An Idea Whose Time Has Come"

Thousands of people have written Peace Pilgrim to say that they have felt inspired by her to get into action for the cause of peace. "Peace is 'an idea whose time has come,'" says Peace Pilgrim. "People everywhere are beginning to realize that God's laws work for good just as soon as we obey them. Peace within a family is for each of us as soon as we are willing to reach out and take it."

"In every crisis period," she tells her listeners, "someone is called to awaken people from their lethargy, to rouse them into action. So I was called to begin my pilgrimage. The contest is between the old ideology that we must overcome evil with force, and the less-old ideology that evil can only be overcome by good, falsehood by truth and hatred by love."

Her name? She has divested herself of her former identity to become the symbol that she is: a humble Peace Pilgrim. One day you may see her radiant face as she walks through your town, asking nothing but a hearing and giving all she has, bringing a tattered world to peace.

CANDLE

Should this poor little candle spend itself

To help dispel the darkness from the path

That man must travel in his search for peace?

Or should it lie with others on the shelf

Unused, until there dawns a day of wrath

When BLAST shall melt them one and all to grease?

—William B. Prothero

Labor and the Garrison State

THE COLD WAR HAS had many effects on American life, and trade unions have not been left untouched. Some may feel that the effects have been largely favorable. Armaments production means jobs. Government contracts are plushy. "Cost plus" provisions mean that the manufacturer can pay high wages.

Nevertheless, all is not rosy. The merged union movement has been plagued with technical practice problems. Unemployment has become endemic. Prices continue to rise in the midst of recessions. Automation throws people out of work and threatens those who continue to work. Even the strongest unions are confronted with the hard choice between no gains at all or during lengthy strikes to win only marginal increases.

Are these trade union difficulties in the midst of apparent prosperity and strength caused in part by the cold war economy of the garrison state? Or are they due entirely to other factors? I believe there is a cause-and-effect relationship for the following reasons:

1. The cold war means more power over the economy by the admirals and generals. More than \$40 billion each year goes for defense. Huge war contracts are negotiated between the Pentagon and armaments companies which are staffed by retired military officers. This makes for a cozy arrangement for business and the military class, but it leaves labor on the outside looking in so far as basic economic decisions are concerned.

2. The cold war means technological chaos. Nothing stays on the assembly line very long. New models in missiles, aircraft, and other military equipment are constantly crowding yesterday's models out of the factories. One general said, "If it works, it's obsolete." This means that a good part of the industry is always in a state of retooling. More and more goes into research and development and less and less into sustained

mass production. Wage earners walk the streets while the scientists and engineers think up something new.

3. The cold war means administered prices. The free play of the market disappears. The customer loses his economic function. Prices, costs, and even wages are determined by secret decisions made by the power elite who control the key spots in industry and government. Only later does the taxpayer and the consumer learn what he must pay. Only later does the worker learn what he can hope to get.

4. The cold war degrades our moral purposes. If enormous sums of money and effort go into means of mass annihilation, we may say it serves democracy, but actually it doesn't. Democracy becomes corrupted as human life becomes cheap. Everything comes under the shadow of destruction and fear. Humanity loses its confidence in its own purposes and even in its own chance to survive. It is not a mere coincidence that the crusading spirit of the New Deal period began to drain out of the union movement as the economy began to shift over and adapt to the requirements of war. Idealistic unionism became business unionism and business unionism means business ethics creeping into union life. Union ethics and business ethics are not the same. It is ethical for a businessman to use other people and other people's money for his own wealth, prestige, and profit. It is unethical for a union leader to do the same thing because a union leader is not supposed to be out to serve himself but to serve those he represents. The ethics, the immorality, and the cynicism of the cold war have made it easy for some union leaders to forget this.

The cold war is a burden on the back of labor. Unions will resume their rightful place of leadership in American life only when our society has found the road toward peace and a more hopeful future.

—STEWART MEACHAM

International Good Will Begins At Home

MANY of us want to do things to build peace and international good will, but do not quite know how to go about it. We make our regular contributions to peace organizations, speak up for the United Nations or write letters to the newspapers, but do not seem to find the opportunity to do much in our own community that involves us personally.

Yet there are people among us who have proved that where there's a will, there's a way. Mrs. T. J. Trogdon Jr., wife of the mayor of Paris, Illinois, had not even heard of the Fellowship of Reconciliation until four years ago, when a serious illness brought her in touch with FOR Midwest Regional Secretary Paul Macy and his wife. Out of that meeting grew not only a new FOR member but a homespun venture in international friendship.

There are some 40,000 foreign students in the United States, thought Mrs. Trogdon. Some of them attend colleges and universities not far from Paris, most of them in the Chicago area only 165 miles north. Wouldn't it be a step toward world peace if these students were given a chance to take part in the daily life of an average American family? The American hosts, too, would surely benefit from getting to know the ideas and customs of people from other lands. Most foreign students see little of our country beyond the campuses and metropolitan areas. Why not show them a small town like Paris, which has a population of 10,000?

First Mrs. Trogdon discussed her concern with leaders of the local service clubs in her town. The seeds of a plan were already forming in her mind; soon she proposed to all the townspeople that they join together in a Paris International Thanksgiving Fellowship. Its program was a simple one. In November each family who joined the fellowship would serve as host to one student for four days, over the Thanksgiving holiday.

To try out her plan, Mrs. Trogdon made contacts with schools and foreign student associations in Chicago to arrange a "pre-view visit" by eight foreign students. Over a two-week period in September 1956, students from China, Ghana, Iraq, Japan

and Pakistan visited in Paris homes.

The experiment was a success. The guests were delighted and the townspeople pitched in with enthusiastic support. The way was now clear to launch the full-scale program in November. Without any personal solicitation, Paris residents contributed \$1,100 to bring 142 foreign students and their families from the Chicago metropolitan area. Last year the group included 121 adults representing about 40 nations.

Religious support for the program has been important. Mrs. Trogdon is a leader in First Christian Church, and 37 members of her denomination alone served as hosts last year. Contribution envelopes are collected in both churches and schools.

The program is well established now. The International Thanksgiving Fellowship is part of the Paris landscape; an attractive brochure shows students of various colors and nationalities looking at a local farmer's dairy herd, visiting a worship service at the local Episcopal church, watching a basketball game, going through a local factory and doing many of the other things that form much of the life of an American small town. And an article about the fellowship, published in the University of Chicago alumni magazine, was read into the Congressional Record.

The program has made lasting friendships. Many students have not hesitated to express their appreciation. One wrote from India: "Had it not been for me to know you all . . . I would have gone back [home] with an entirely different outlook for the people of the United States."

Perhaps the most touching tribute came from a student from Okinawa: "Thanksgiving is over, the candle has been put out but the light lit in my heart by the people of Paris will never fade away. It will light another candle and another in the hearts of the people of my country."

"Candles were lit for us too," says Mrs. Trogdon. "No longer did we think of foreigners as queer folk, but as people with problems and feelings just like our own. The light of understanding is burning more brightly in our community after each Thanksgiving fellowship." —W.R.M.



CHRISTMAS GREETINGS OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

FELLOWSHIP CARDS say something more than "Hi there"—without becoming ornate or over-sentimental.

We believe there is a way to make Christmas a joyful occasion without either undue frivolity or heavy-handed solemnity.

Simplicity and good taste—dignity without pomp: these are the characteristic qualities of Fellowship cards. The two little boys shown above are a good example. And the verse that goes with the card on which they appear: "There is only one child in the world, and the child's name is All Children"—simple words by a great American poet, Carl Sandburg. Together, the words and picture form a message that speaks from the heart, and will surely touch the hearts of those who receive it. Its muted colors add a further dimension of charm.

Our other 1959 card is of similar quality. Outside, a photograph of Janice Lettice's statuette of St. Francis of Assisi, subtly lighted with colors to bring out its warmth and delicate nuances. Inside, a fresh new rendering of St. Francis' beloved prayer that begins: "Lord, make me a channel of your peace." This card has been produced to meet the requests of many people who, year after year, have kept asking for their earlier "St. Francis card," now long out of stock.

Besides these two, there are five cards from earlier years to choose from. Like the Sandburg and St. Francis cards, they all have the same tasteful simplicity. They are all inexpensive.* They all carry a unique message of peace and reconciliation. And proceeds from the sales of these cards go into the year-round work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, carrying forward the spirit of Christmas into the months ahead. Please order now and avoid the last-minute rush. If you've mislaid your folder showing the cards, we'll be happy to send you another.

* The new cards are 10¢ each; 12 for \$1; 50 for \$4; 100 for \$7.50; 500 for \$35.

FELLOWSHIP CARDS

CHRISTMAS CARDS FROM FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS • BOX 271, NYACK, N. Y.

BOOKS

A Channel of Peace

MY GOD AND MY ALL: *The Life of St. Francis of Assisi* by Elizabeth Goudge. Coward-McCann 1959. 369 pp., \$4.95.

Books about St. Francis are legion. This time it is the successful English novelist, Elizabeth Goudge, who brings us the timeless story. She quotes Francis' own writings, those of "The Three Companions" and the early biographers, Bonaventura, and Thomas of Celano.

Against the iridescent background of medieval Italy we see Francis, son of the merchant prince, Pietro Bernadone, dashing about Assisi on his fine horse, singing his troubadour songs, summoning boon-fellows to nightly revels, yet even then running after beggars to fling them his own—or his father's—money. We see Francis the young soldier straining in the dark Spoleto camp to grasp what the "Voice" is telling him of God's purpose for him. Again it is Francis building little ruined churches with bare hands, journeying to Rome and returning to kiss the leper, fling away inheritance and fine clothes for the rough, cross-shaped tunic and rope in which he will serve the Lady Poverty, tend sick and poor, and, without bell or book, preach repentance and the simple love of Christ.

The earlier stones and cries of "Mad-man!" are forgotten as high and low gaze in awe at the Little Poor Man joyously singing God's praises, preaching to the larks as well as to humans, since he names the "creatures," too, his brothers and sisters. Soon men were begging to be allowed to follow. First Bernard the rich man, who sold all and gave to the poor, Peter the learned lawyer, Giles the farmer, Leo the beloved scribe, and others till they numbered twelve, and it was time to lead the little barefoot band to Rome for the Pope's blessing on the Brothers Minor. For, however he despised pomp and luxury for himself, Francis continued a loyal son of the Church.

A very considerable pictorial skill does justice to the historic scene in the Papal palace, Francis on his knees, Innocent III

on his throne, surrounded by gorgeous appareled Cardinals. First denied, later granted, that humble plea to go about the world penniless, working, teaching, imitation of the Master. So was born the Rule to govern the first two of the three great Franciscan Orders destined to survive down into the present.

The journeys throughout the Umbrian countryside follow: the hardships, the brief shelterings in the rude Portiuncula, the failures, the successes, till the Brothers grew to many thousands; also the establishment of the Second Order of enclosed women under St. Claire; and finally the Third Order of laymen, movingly paralleled our day by our pacifist friends of The Catholic Worker.

Francis in the camp of the Saracens during the Crusades, pleading with the Sultan to fling away fear along with arms and follow Christ, is another of those episodes that capture the imagination. (In his delightful "Little Plays of St. Francis" the late Lawrence Housman has Francis make the plea to Christians and infidels alike.)

And so we come to the Stigmata of Mount Alvernia where Francis the mystic yearning for union with his suffering Lord feels the nail-prints in hands and feet, the sword-thrust in his side. In 1226 it is "St. Peter Death" whom Francis welcomes as a paean of praise. So ends that radiant, compassionate life which men's reverent hands over seven centuries have been making into poems, carving into statues, and painting into great frescoes.

And if the author sets down as fact the incidents which some of us may have looked upon as charming legends—always remembering how much essential truth legends can contain—Protestants no less than Catholics can find inspiration in a book full of spiritual insight and grave beauty. Pacifists, indeed, do well to take it to their hearts for its message of reconciling love.

—FRANCES WITHERSPON



Hope in the South

THE SOUTHERN TEMPER by William Peter Doubleday 1959. 283 pp., \$3.95.

John Bartlow Martin is acknowledged as an excellent reporter. Realizing the ab-

of Mr. Martin as a reporter, the *Saturday Evening Post* sent him on a tour of the South in 1957. The results of his observations and interpretations were carried in the *Post* in a series of articles, entitled "The Deep South Says Never." Mr. Martin's tour of the South was limited to one side of the street, the side on which men like Herman Talmadge, Sam Engelhardt, James O. Eastland, Robert Patterson, James O. Eastland, William Rainach and others of the same flavor were operating. Mr. Martin saw the Kasper-like stores in operation; the fronts were deceptive, even to a good reporter, especially since inside the stores there was the appearance of brisk business activity. Perhaps it was logical to conclude that "The Deep South Says Never."

A year after Mr. Martin's one-sided main street tour of the South another top-flight reporter, on assignment by *McCall's*, made a nine-thousand mile tour of the other side of the same street. William Peters' report, entitled "The Story Nobody Tells You," appeared in *McCall's* in September of 1958. From his extensive notes, Bill Peters expanded the article into *The Southern Temper*. It is an outstanding job of reporting; indeed, it is more, for any man who can locate a moderate in Mississippi is doing more than reporting. (Actually, he's something of a human Geiger counter.) Bill Peters found moderates throughout the South. He found them in churchwomen, ministers, newspaper editors (though few in number), and on city streets, among the rank and file. Indeed, Bill Peters did more than a reporting job! Mr. Peters drew two basic conclusions from desegregation accomplished in scattered areas already: (1) Violence and delay occur where bigoted leaders from outside the area have exerted influence. (2) Resistance has diminished where officials have taken a firm stand against it.

He observes that once desegregation is begun, its extension is only a matter of time; the passive adherents to the change stand by it.

The treatment of the psychological aspects of the mass guilt complex of Southerners for having mistreated Negroes, for having taken advantage of them morally, financially—and in the case of

Negro women, sexually—is an important aspect of the understanding of *The Southern Temper*. Peter does an honest, objective and thorough job on all phases of the Southern guilt complex.

The report is indeed objective; Bill Peters displays feeling but once, that being over the evidence that the executive branch of the Federal government has given and is now giving aid to the men in the South who advocate defiance of the law of the land. However, the feeling expressed by Peters is not that of an "outsider" over a Southern problem; indeed, the feeling stems from his concern as an American citizen over a national problem, a problem which he realizes has international implications.

On the whole, this book gives to all Americans a feeling of hope—hope that in this nation, thank God, the ideals are real and are in tangible evidence and, in spite of being trampled in the mud and muck on one side of the street, there are always men on the other side willing to lift them, polish them bright, and hold them for the world to see.

—P. D. EAST

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Inside Organized Labor

THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN LABOR by Sidney Lens. Sagamore Press 1959. 308 pp., \$6.

During the last presidential campaign, the AFL-CIO asked every member to contribute \$1 to COPE, its political arm. It was able to collect only \$623,158; barely one out of every 23 members was willing to contribute that small sum.

Sidney Lens, who believes in unionism because its purpose is "to fight against injustice," cites the fact with suppressed annoyance during his sweeping and carefully documented survey of the field.

Lens has had 25 years of experience as a labor organizer and as head of a local union in Chicago which he helped to wrest from the Capone syndicate. He is an idealist with the necessary discipline to write clearly about the abuses and weaknesses of the movement to which he has given his life.

Despite frenzied cries of reactionaries about the supposed domination of politics by organized labor, the movement is actually quite feeble politically, Lens concedes. Except for a few areas, such as Michigan, where the auto workers have successfully infiltrated the Democratic party, labor's participation can generally be described as "minute."

Similarly, though ultra-rightist commentators howl up labor as an industrial ogre and demand periodically that it be "curbed," it has organized only one out of every three workers. It is particularly influential in the white-collar and service fields to which employment is now flowing.

Lens casts up the weaknesses and strengths of labor, and in the process provides anecdotal nuggets about every union

from the typographers to the teamsters.

He wants a revival of a sense of insurgency in the unions, to counter the lethargy which results in business unionism. He thinks direct participation of organized labor in a new left-of-center political party might do the trick. His prescription is worth pondering.

—OLIVER PR

A Christian's Travels

THE BRIDGE IS LOVE by Hans A. de Boer. Eerdmans 1958. 256 pp., \$4.50.

"Through having been cut off from the outside world for so long," says Hans Boer, "we young Germans have to have a lot of theory in order not to lag behind the experience of others." When the author went to South-West Africa in the early 1950s for a year of work for his firm, he had heard nothing about the ways *apartheid* policy is carried out. The story of his experiences in South-West Africa and later in the Union of South Africa itself rings with the indignation of shock and first-hand experiences. He spoke German and English, and learned Afrikaans. Working as refrigerator repairman, he was able to compare the mines near Johannesburg, which are not open to public inspection, with the "permitted" or showcase mines. His work brought him in touch with natives every day, but he describes in detail his frustrated efforts in simply trying to meet them and talk with them.

Aroused by the sight of the wrong done by Christians to black men, he set off on a journey that was to take him, among other places, to Kenya, India, China, Australia and the United States, asking himself what Christians are doing to meet the problems confronting us. He found little to say in favor of the missions of the older churches in Asia, feeling that their work is vitiated by pride of race.

The book is at its best when he is describing his long stay in Africa. The description of his tour through the rest of the world is discursive and, judging by his account of race relations in the United States, apt to be superficial. ("Practically speaking there is no longer any race

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE

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regation in the Northern states, anyway within the Church.") He holds (or, possibly, held) a rather favorable view of communism, and feels that the leaders of Asia are selflessly devoted to the true voice of love. But this is perhaps the same sophistication which makes his experiences so absorbing. There are 14 photographs and a foreword by Martin Niemöller.

—EDWARD NELSON



Problems of a Garrison State

THE STATE AND THE STATE: CIVIL-MILITARY ELEMENTS IN NATIONAL POLICY by Walter Millis with Harvey C. Mansfield and Harold Koh. Twentieth Century Fund 1958. 436 pp., \$4.

The old line between things political and things military has been almost completely eradicated in the United States since World War II. The armed services have remained so large, their economic power through contract assignment is so extensive, and the prestige of admirals and generals in the field of international relations has been so great that almost any factor for military decision now has its political effects. And while fears of "militarism" center on the Pentagon, often this way of thinking is as strongly expressed by militarized civilians in the cabinet or in Congress. This rapid erosion of the traditional American concept of the division of power between civilian dominance over the military has aroused interest in the history of civil-military relations among students of government. This volume is one of a series of case studies of this inter-relationship which treats the period from 1933 down to the establishment of the Korean truce.

Walter Millis makes the major contribution with his study of the postwar years. Though Millis has never reached the critical vigor he attained in writing his earlier classics, *The Martial Spirit* (1931) and *The Road to War* (1935), he still is useful from offering the usual superficial analytical platitudes about the state of affairs in Washington. He has provided an excellent summary of the civilian effort to organize and integrate the armed services during the war as it was buffeted by the

service rivalries which are now so strong over the control of missiles and jurisdictions in space warfare. He also treats in some detail the Truman-MacArthur struggle in 1951. Millis does not see this as an issue of civilian control, but rather a struggle of personalities in good part within the military establishment, for it was the Joint Chiefs of Staff who pressed for MacArthur's recall.

In dealing with the question of military-civilian control over the use of the atomic bomb, Millis feels that Truman evaded the issue for too long a period. It was Secretary of War Stimson who had suggested that the period of the American monopoly was the time for direct Russo-American negotiations to prevent future atomic warfare. Instead, Truman turned to work first with the Canadians and British and then in the United Nations. Stimson had predicted the effect of such a course on the Russians: "their suspicions will increase. It will inspire them to . . . an all-out effort to solve the problem." Perhaps 1945-46 was the period of maximum flexibility when Truman's nationalism lost the opportunity for establishing a working relationship with America's wartime Soviet ally.

—WILLIAM L. NEUMANN



Strength for These Days

CHANNELS OF THY PEACE by Erma W. Kelley. Abingdon, 1958. 111 pp., \$2.

At least two FOR members figure in this book, but besides Clarence Jordan and Evelyn Underhill there are many personalities woven into the overall fabric—a quote from Arnold Toynbee, an anecdote about Albert Schweitzer, snatches of poetry by

LIFE OF EVELYN UNDERHILL

by Margaret Cropper

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Kahlil Gibran, James Stephens, Dylan Thomas and John Donne. The common thread that binds them all together is the beloved prayer of St. Francis of Assisi which begins, "Lord, make me a channel of thy peace." Each section of the prayer serves as a rubric for a group of one-page meditations, drawn from the author's own thoughts or from the resources of the world's great literature, and then epitomized in a scriptural passage.

Erma Kelley, a Quaker, has succeeded admirably in constructing out of this diverse material an excellent pocket devotional containing much of the strength and hope that lay behind St. Francis' original. Although the "peace" of this book is not distinctively pacifistic, it is certainly not unpacifistic, and pacifists will find in it a kindred voice when it speaks of hatred as "an attempt at self-defense" and goes on to say: "In the life of Jesus we see an example of the inner security that obviates the need for self-defense." A page a day of readings from this book might deepen one's understanding of life towards that peace of God which "passes all understanding."

—W.R.M.

pamphlet reviews

• *South Carolinians Speak*. 89 pp., 50¢. Order from: South Carolinians Speak, Box 806, Dillon, South Carolina.

Subtitled "A Moderate Approach to Race Relations," this pamphlet presents the views of twelve white residents of a state known for its large Negro population and for its intransigent opposition to racial integration. To a very large degree the "moderation" envisaged by these writers is predicated on the belief that integration should proceed slowly and at the discretion of the white population of the state. Only to outright advocates of segregation would such views appear liberal. Yet this

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pamphlet is of value because it affords a candid glimpse of the mind of a pivotal segment of the Southern white population: the sincere Christian caught up in a culture of rigid racial division and so far unable to mount the barrier. In their winsome rationalizations some of us may recognize our covert prejudices writ large. All of us, however, will recognize the need of forbearance and kindness, not by tactics of delay but part of the continuing struggle for full racial equality.

THE I.F.O.R. TAKES A NEW LOOK

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

appropriate time comes, applying for consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council and with UNESCO.

It should continue its close cooperation with the International Liaison Committee for Organizations of Peace (ILCOP), with the Historic Peace Churches, and with *Eirene* (the work camp conducted in Morocco jointly by the Mennonites, Brethren and IFOR).

And it should seek, reiterated the Council, to multiply the contacts with Christians in the Communist countries, out of which have come already several moving and fruitful exchanges.

New Headquarters

Of the rest of the business of the Council, the most significant was the discussion concerning the use of an anonymous fund of \$80,000 for the acquisition of a new headquarters. The central office of IFOR now is in London, in inadequate rented quarters, but again the concern "move out into the non-Western world" manifested itself in the repeatedly expressed wish that the new center—the center—might be located somewhere in the East. After lengthy discussion, however, members of the Council agreed that location of a headquarters should be decided in relation to the actual membership of the organization. With this decision, the Council authorized a special committee to locate an appropriate headquarters building in near London.

But this does not end the matter, even one agreed. The new center must be more than just a headquarters—it must be a nerve center from which the Fellowship message goes forth, literally to the ends of the earth.

LETTERS

It is Fellowship's policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with Fellowship's viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

"On the Line" at Ft. Detrick

Dear Editors:

Over the Fourth of July weekend, I took part in the Ft. Detrick Vigil protesting biological warfare. It was a truly inspiring experience, especially to observe the cooperation of diversified volunteers despite differences of background and opinion. We all felt ennobled by the opportunity to share in this symbolic taking a stand—without accusation or righteousness, meditating in a spirit of helpful contrition. Standing silently under the blazing sun, we had a chance to review our deepest motives, our personal limits, our shared ideal. The atmosphere of self-examination and responsible decision-making by the leaders gave us a secure form. Many of us who had to leave after the weekend feel that a large part of us is still "on the line" and will remain with action to the end. We were so glad to learn of the extension of the Vigil [until January—] as it was obvious even to us that the air was softening up, and that changes in our course could certainly be anticipated. Many of us are discussing ways to help, contacting friends and publications and generally continuing to share in the action. We firmly believe in the merit of the cause and in the faintly of valuable results.

JEANNE S. BAGBY
New York, N. Y.

Radioactive Garbage

Dear Editors:

The statement that "no one suffered ill-effects" from the Windscale disaster ("The Clear Graveyard" by Ritchie Calder in the 11 FELLOWSHIP) needs qualification: No one suffered immediately observable ill-effects due to the disaster. No one knows how many seeds of cancer were sown, how much genetic damage was done. Aside from that, the safety of the ordinary operation of the power reactor may be questioned. At least the Oct. 31, 1957, *New York Times* quoted Windscale farmers as saying they had had great trouble with loss of fertility among their dairy cattle for the five years preceding the disaster. "Indestructible steel tanks" sounds safe. But our Gorman, a sanitary engineer recently hired from the Atomic Energy Commission, "We are merely sweeping the real problem under the carpet. . . . The radioactivity is to outlive the tanks." ("Gangway for the

Atomic Garbage Man," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 25, 1958). Some Hanford tanks have already sprung leaks.

In the past only persons in or near crashing and colliding ships, planes and automobiles were injured. Are they to be atomically powered so as to share the suffering with those remote in time and space?

ALICE FRANKLIN BRYANT
Seattle, Washington

The Power of Prayer

Dear Editors:

There is one place of true reconciliation for the victims and the culprits, the murdered and the murderers, the sufferers and the cruel. It is a universal place of repentance where sincere prayer can be felt and uttered not only for the one who prays but for all who enter into his consciousness of everyday relationships of thought or action.

To empower Nuclear Disarmament into effectiveness there needs to be this power of prayer behind it, within it and beyond it. The great Albert Hall meeting recently in London of about 7,000 people was such a manifestation of prayer potential. It needs to be continued unabated and extended so as to employ and affect thousands more.

Let us be realistic enough to see that we must win allegiance to the Christ-method of life on earth from the humble conscript or army recruit right up to the atom scientist, statesman and sovereign authority. Let us pray without ceasing:

A PRAYER FOR SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AIRMEN AND ALL RULERS

O God we pray for every one of our fellow men who are being trained to fight and to kill the people of nations other than their own nation—if at any time they are commanded to do so, by the politicians or officers of their own country. May they realize in their own manhood that to do so, in wartime as in peacetime, is a sin against Thee, Who art the God and Father of all mankind. Also that it is contrary to the teaching of Jesus, Who insisted that we should love even our enemies, personally and nationally.

We pray that each one of us may go all-out to seek fellowship with our fellow men who are

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP at least one month in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to: Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of FELLOWSHIP will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)

now in barracks, battleships, and bombing airplanes to win them to greater understanding of what they have been wrongly influenced to believe as their duty.

And we pray also for our own and all other Parliaments and Politicians that they may be convinced and converted to understand Thy Holy Laws of Mercy and Toleration, Justice, and Truth. Amen.

CHARLES MARLAND
Surrey, England

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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher—Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York; Editor—Alfred Hassler, Box 271, Nyack, New York; Managing editor—William Robert Miller, Box 271, Nyack, New York; Business manager—none.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of October, 1959.

State of New York, County of Rockland

[SEAL]

VIRGINIA LAING

(My commission expires March 30, 1960)

THAT MEN MAY LIVE...in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- ✚ They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- ✚ They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- ✚ They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- ✚ They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- ✚ They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

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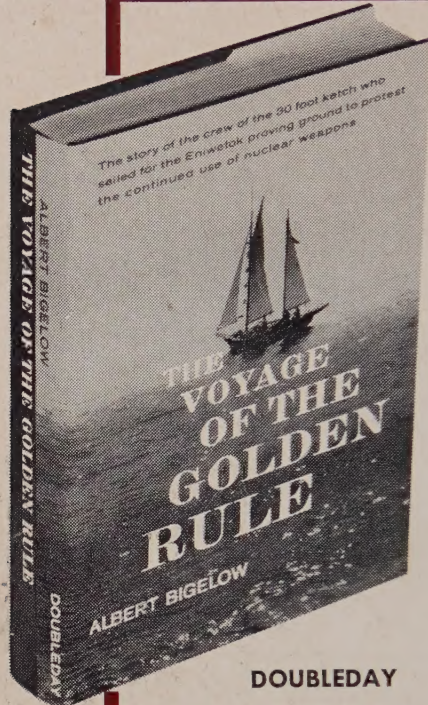
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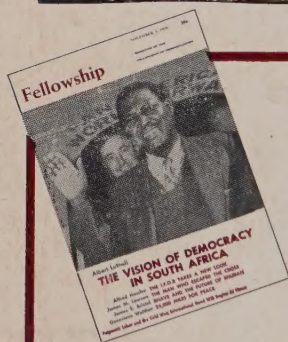
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